

PRECOCIOUS PREGNANCIES: PATTERNS OF SEXUALITY
AMONG WHITE ADOLESCENT WOMEN IN THE RURAL SOUTH

By

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It is difficult to adequately thank those persons without whose aid this study could not have been contemplated. Of course, the people of the fictive Strawberry Junction cannot be named anymore than the community itself identified despite the great need to acknowledge their contributions to the research effort, but they will recognize their part.

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Adolescent pregnancy has been noted as a social phenomenon capable of affecting population trends relatively recently in America. However, patterns of early birth have long been recognized as contributors to dense populations in developing countries.

Sexuality among adolescents has been explained primarily as a variant of deviant behavior and pregnancy as the result of either contraceptive incompetence or psychological forces. Study populations have commonly been derived from urban settings and often are black and/or lower socio-economic class. Clinic populations are frequently utilized. Surveying techniques have been the most prevalent investigative methodology.

Adolescent sexuality represents a complex behavioral issue that can significantly affect health status and has been investigated from multiple viewpoints. The theoretical context for this study was compiled from research in human sexuality, adolescence, sex roles, demography and social anthropology.

Strawberry Junction, a community in north central Florida, was selected as the study site on the basis of a field trial and demographic investigation as conforming to the typical southern rural pattern: land-based economy, religious fundamentalism, racial segregation, kin-based

social organization, and complementary sex roles. The town accounts for approximately one-third of the 15,000 county residents and serves as the county seat. It contains the only high school in addition to a middle and vocational school for adolescents which together enroll about 2,500 students.

The study group included one hundred white women aged 13 to 19 and drawn primarily from the schools and seventy-five adults judged as having insight into adolescent concerns, e.g. parents, young marrieds, teachers, ministers, social agency personnel, and so forth. A small number of males (fifteen) were included as corroborative informants.

A natural historical approach was used for this study in order to avoid bias inherent in a clinical population of medically-assisted contraceptors. Information was elicited via structured and informal interviews and participant observation during the period of community residency from September 1974, through June 1976.

The study provides contextual information about adolescent sexuality and contraceptive behavior of white rural adolescent women. The following findings of the study are significant in understanding the behavior of these teenagers.

Sexual relations are important to adolescent life and begin early. Expression differs between boys and girls. Girls' sexual aggressiveness is not intrinsically sexual but is related to achievement of social goals.

Adolescents are ineffective contraceptors due to the inadequacy of their knowledge base and difficulties in accessing medical services. Folk techniques are often relied upon.

Intergenerational interaction is minimal with generational insularity maintained by parents as well as teenagers. Adults do not educate their

young in sexual matters and covertly allow adolescent sexual activity by accordin teenagers a high degree of social autonomy. The failure of adults to provide sexual instruction to youth is due in part to religious sanctions and in part to their own inadequate knowledge base.

Due to sex role differentiation in the rural south adolescence is a period of apprenticeship for males but a period of deviance for girls which will terminate upon marriage. This female role-deviation is described as "male-mimicking."

Marriage and childbearing are ultimate female goals; alternate role models for women are rare in the community. Precocious pregnancy is not tragic but rather begins the preordained course early.

Community religious tenets and social structure prescribe the options for pregnant girls. In order of preference, they are marriage, adoption, raising by the unwed mother, or abortion. Abortion appears to be rare.

Choice of sexual partners appears to be different than described for urban settings. The pattern is often young girls partnered by older men, occasionally in incestuous relationships.

CHAPTER I
PRECOCIOUS PREGNANCY AND ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY PATTERNS: AN OVERVIEW

Girls who become mothers before shedding their own childhood present an especially poignant contemporary phenomenon as they are forced to precipitously abandon the carefree days of their adolescence in order to assume awesome responsibilities for which they may be ill-prepared. The consequences of these early births reach far beyond the marred girlhoods and may affect generations.

While not an entirely new phenomenon in the biosocial scheme, adolescent pregnancy has recently acquired a high visibility due to its social unacceptability in American life and because it has been described as reaching epidemic proportions relative to past experience and current expectations.

In American society, peak childbearing years for the female fall between the twentieth and twenty-ninth years with the 20-24 cohort having the highest yield in terms of natality; childbearing prior to the twentieth year is defined as precocious and inappropriate, particularly in the early adolescent years. Nevertheless, the birth rate for this group is rising in contrast to dropping rates for other age cohorts. Illegitimacy rates are also rising, particularly among white adolescents. This trend toward early or illegitimate births has many adverse implications related to the physical and sociopsychological well-being of young mothers and their children as well as for the generations which succeed them.

Investigators have probed the problem of illegitimacy and high birth rates principally from two related points of view: as a phenomenon of black cultural patterns, e.g. matrifocality (Gonzalez 1964); and as a cultural pattern arising from imperatives of the urban ghetto (Rainwater 1966). Exploration of the problem as an element of the white cultural milieu in a non-metropolitan setting has not received equal attention.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between cultural factors and the expression of adolescent sexuality and its outcome among young white women in a southern rural community. The rural south was chosen as an appropriate context for a study of adolescent pregnancy because this type of problem has not been thoroughly investigated in this setting. Moreover, the barrenness of the medical establishment in rural areas has made many communities particularly open to input which has the potential to expand health care.

The clandestine nature of sexuality among adolescents and its lack of adequate investigation coupled with the prudery and insularity of the community made traditional anthropological approaches to field research, i.e. participant observation as a community resident, a most appropriate method of investigation as well as one most likely to yield valid results.

Suspicion of and hostility toward academicians reduced the primacy of statistical analysis of questionnaires as the conservatism of the community would prohibit such an open approach to sexual aspects of community behavior which are ideally considered forbidden topics. The smallness of the community, approximately 5,000 population, made it preferable for the researcher to establish credentials first at the

level of personal acceptability and from that basis proceed to conducting low-profile investigations.

Strawberry Junction, a community in north central Florida, was selected as the research site on the basis of observations during a summer research project and background research into its demographic composition. It conforms to the typical southern rural pattern: land-based economy, religious fundamentalism, primarily kin-based social organization, and complementary sex roles. Its small size made it a desirable study site. Moreover, it is the county seat of North Central county, and so had the only high school in the founty. Approximately 2,500 students are enrolled in both the middle and high school.

Another aspect of the community which gave it priority as a research site was its poor health climate. Medical facilities and personnel were scarce and health services, particularly for women, were minimal. Gynecologic services were available from general practitioners or the health department but no obstetrical services were available. Deliveries had to take place outside the county, primarily at the University of Florida medical center through a special service project of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology. This project sent staff into the county to deliver family planning and prenatal services and represented a link between the researcher and the university, thus providing invaluable sources of information about the study group and the community. In addition, this cooperation made clinical observations possible. The full cooperation of the county health department and the school system were also extended and greatly facilitated the research in terms of access to informants.

Subjects were drawn primarily from the adolescent or young adult portion of the community although a sampling of the parental peer group

was also included. The sample consisted of 100 white women aged 13 to 19, selected from the community. Most of the subjects were students at the middle and high schools, but some were attending the Vo-Tech school or had terminated their education.

In addition, informal interviews were held with young men designated as behaviorally typical by knowledgeable community source persons. Some young adults recently out of their adolescence and parents of adolescents were also included.

Relatively formal, i.e. structured, interviews were conducted with key persons in the community including school administrators, public health personnel, community agency staff, and others who were revealed as having specialized knowledge of adolescent behavior.

Direct observations were made as a consequence of residency in the community: informal and formal participation in daily life including normal use of schools, churches, civic and voluntary associations, and community activities. All participation was with informed consent, strictly confidential, and voluntary.

Content analysis of newspapers, school materials and government publications as available was used to provide the wider social context of belief, orientation, ideology, and custom which exemplify the community.

The investigation examined issues related to sexual activity patterns among adolescents, contraceptive behavior, ethnocontraceptive lore, communication networks as reflected by interaction patterns, sexual knowledge base, pregnancy patterns including community and personal solution responses, utilization of health care, and female-male role expression and its development within the community context. While taking adolescent girls as the focus of the study, the discussion

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includes an analysis of inter-generational interaction and its implications for adolescent behavior.

Literature pertaining to the culturally and personally expressive significance of adolescent sexuality remains peripheral to the identification of certain salient questions. To establish a context for examining white adolescent sexuality and its concitant effects on natality, we must bring together salient findings in four pertinent areas:

- (1) factors contributing to fertility, (2) patterns of contraception and birth control, (3) adolescent sexuality and ethnocontraception, and (4) sex role definition and differentiation.

Fertility is the outcome of the variable interplay of biological and socio-cultural factors. The universal desire for children and concern with barrenness conflicts with the universal motivation to avoid the pain and personal sacrifice attendant to having and raising children (Ford 1945, 1952; Ford and Beach 1951).

Current analytic frameworks for identifying and evaluating the factors contributing to fertility break down the reproductive process into intercourse, conception, and gestation and parturition. Outcomes of this process tend to vary at these three levels, e.g. frequency of coitus and contraceptive technique, length of lactation and diet, age at marriage, abortion, and celibacy rules.

Psychologists such as Pohlman (1969) point to the variability of individual motives in achieving pregnancy including proof of femininity, escape from freedom, hostility toward parents or opposite sex, or as a means of grasping security through dependence. Motherhood may also represent achievement of adult status, i.e., it is a critical female rite de passage (van gennep 1960).

The antiquity and universality of attempts to control fertility is well established (Himes 1963). Magical or manipulative methods, e.g. post-coital sneezing or thrashing movements and coitus interruptus, pre-date efficient mechanical contraceptive technology and persist in its presence in both rural and urbanized societies. Coitus interruptus is probably universally the most commonly depended upon contraceptive practice. Abortion remains universally prevalent as an alternative to contraception as a mechanism of birth control (Devereaux 1955). The importance of technological advances is the development of coitus-independent contraceptive methods which allow separation of sexual behavior from reproduction (Newman 1972).

Incidence of adolescent sexual activity is widespread and its natural outcomes, i.e. pregnancy and venereal disease, are significant problems in terms of population (Commission on Population Growth and the American Future 1972) and epidemiology (Deschin 1961). Kantner and Zelnik (1972) report that sexual activity is beginning at earlier ages and is increasing in extent but this assertion is questioned by Cutright (1972) who suggests that sexual activity levels have probably remained fairly stable but that increased incidences of pregnancy due to improved nutrition, lowered menarche, and lowered incidences of spontaneous abortions have merely made the activity more visible.

Adolescent sexual expression has its roots in non-sexual motivations. It may be an attempt to discover identity by creating a counterpoint situation or a reaction to authority (Gadpaille 1970). It also serves as a cohesive mechanism within the peer group. Teenagers are notoriously poor contraceptors due to their limited information base and their tendency to dissociate reproduction from sexual activity (Calderone 1965, Furstenburg 1973, Presser 1974).

1

Aggression has been defined as the pivotal determining factor in the development of female and male sex roles and as such has critical ramifications for the characteristics of the dominant-submissive behavior that is its concomitant (Mead 1935, Brown 1970, Michaelson and Goldschmidt 1971, Oakley 1972). Literature dealing with the Latin pattern of machismo-marianismo as male-female role ideals (Fromm and Maccoby 1970, Paz 1971, Stevens 1973, Paul 1974) are particularly salient as analogues in certain aspects to the ideal male-female interactive patterns in the American south.

Adolescence can be defined as the liminal period during which girls and boys learn to become social men and women as defined by their culture. Conflict arises between the prescriptions of the social order and personal needs gratification which produces a stress situation which must be resolved if the transition into adulthood is to be successful. Sexuality as expressive behavior reflects an attempt of the female and the male to define their personal identities in conformance with or in opposition to culturally established norms of femininity and masculinity. Sexuality may be seen as a period of deviance from the ideal role.

In order to examine the meaning of sexual activity in the adolescent phase of life the following areas must be examined:

- (1) To what extent does religious fundamentalism shape the expression of sexuality and its outcome?
- (2) To what extent are women's roles defined in terms of the life cycle and to what extent developed as contrapuntal to the male role in their structural features? How are cultural expressions of femininity and masculinity defined in terms of dominant/aggressive behavior and subordinate/passive behavior?

(3) What behavior patterns can be considered as stress-reducing mechanisms during the period of transition into adulthood and to what extent are these in conformance or conflict with overt community prescriptions of appropriate behavior?

(4) Does the liminal period represent the same modes of expressive behavior for the female as for the male or does the transition from girl to woman differ from that of boy to man?

(5) What is the nature of intergenerational interaction in a community of this type and to what extent does it retard information exchange concerning sexual topics?

(6) What part does sexual activity and its culmination in pregnancy play in the transition to social adulthood? Can this rite de passage mark entrance into the adolescent peer group as well?

Consideration of these issues results in the general suggestion that adolescence is a period of liminality in which anomalous behavior is covertly allowed by the adult community and overtly accepted by the adolescent peer group. Adolescent sexual expression in the female is deviant in terms of her socially prescribed role as a girl and is inconsistent with social womanhood although not necessarily incompatible with the expression of femininity thus a situation of stress is produced which must be resolved in culturally approved ways. Female behavior during this period approximates that assigned to the male: it includes a degree of female aggressiveness not allowed to women at other points in the life cycle and may be designated as a male mimicking role. This behavior is discarded with progress through the life cycle, particularly upon marriage. Adolescent sexual expression in the male is consistent with his adult role. Therefore, the life cycle is a greater determinant in the development of the feminine role than in the male.

The desired outcome of this research is to extend the existing knowledge base concerning patterns of teen sexuality and contraceptive techniques. Although this research is confined to exploring the relationships of cultural elements of southern rural society to sexual behavior among young white women, it will reveal lines of inquiry which may be pursued in different settings to test whether they can be extrapolated to other areas.

In addition, this study will attempt to furnish documentation of a community problem that is currently recognized as significant only by certain key personnel who must deal with it in their professional capacities, e.g. school counselors and public health caregivers. They, however, are even ignorant of its pervasiveness. Outside this coterie of involved persons, the existence of adolescent sexual activity is not only ill understood by the adult community, but is denied.

Though the key to eliminating the problem lies in changing the entire fabric of social life by improving the role selection alternatives for women and as such is neither feasible nor desirable, it is not unrealistic to initiate low-level but potentially significant alleviative changes into the system by offering suggestions for improving the quality of the information base and demonstrating the need to create a program of social activities appropriate for adolescents.

CHAPTER II
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: INQUIRY INTO THE HIDDEN SPHERE

The relation of methodology to the research problem and the situation chosen for its illumination is an intimate and reciprocal one.

Initially, methodological decisions are made on the basis of the imperatives of the research question imposed on the field setting: on the basis of acquired information about the site, projections are made concerning which techniques and rationales may be most effectively used to elicit the desired data.

Subsequently, as the research progresses *in situ*, the nature of the research context may temper previous carefully made decisions: methodological approaches forecast as suitable may be reviewed resulting in discarding certain techniques, refining others, and developing more appropriate new methods, perhaps serendipitously. Thus a reciprocal adjustment process occurs which produces a context-sensitive battery of methods gleaned from the armamentarium of research tools used by anthropologists. In describing the particular methodology used to gather data, therefore, it is necessary to discuss the basis on which initial decision-making was formed and also describe the evolution process through which the research context refined the methodology.

Particular approaches to social study must both conform to the ethical, theoretical and pragmatic guidelines established by disciplines and be tailored to the conditions imposed by the setting and the problem. Implications of the nature of the setting for research techniques hinge on the question of definition of particular research strategies with

particular forms of social conditions, e.g. the development of urban methodologies distinct from those appropriate to rural or primitive settings has been the focus of much debate among anthropologists (Arensberg and Kimball 1965, Eddy 1968, Pelto 1968).

The rural setting seems one in which traditional anthropological techniques are most appropriate: participant observation coupled with judicious use of available documentations yields the truest picture of rural patterns (Hill 1973). These techniques also seemed most adaptable to the problem which was one of an intimate and covert nature not readily revealed without the reassuring personal contact with and knowledge of the researcher. Therefore, the selection of methodological approaches was made to mitigate the fact that the private nature of the topic foreseeably made disclosure difficult and risky to the informant in terms of possible exposure and censure and that the extremely conservative social texture of the community made open and public discussion of sexual matters unlikely.

Parameters of the problem, i.e. girls' sexual behavior in a natural population rather than in a biased portion of that group such as clinic patients, demanded a natural history approach to data gathering. The most appropriate theoretical orientations for exploring the problem were derived from the community study method (Arensberg 1961, Arensberg and Kimball 1965) and network theory (e.g. Barnes 1954, Bott 1957, Mitchell 1966). If the community represents the basic unit of cultural organization and transmission and is the "locus of patterning in culture and of structure in society" (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:XI), then careful attention must be paid to its configuration in order to assess its socializing influence with respect to role formation for young women and

men and their subsequent socio-sexual expectations and behavior. Networks were judged to be important for analysis of social interaction, dating patterns, and sexual behavior. Of particular importance as a research target was the investigation of the nature of information flow so that sexual lore could be compiled and an assessment made of the level of sexual and contraceptive knowledge and its sources traced.

The bulk of the data was to be gathered through the fundamental tasks of anthropological fieldwork: watching, asking, listening, sometimes doing, and recording (Langness 1965). Participant observation during the period of residency for the research, September 1974 through June 1976, was to be augmented by structured interviews, including life history compilation, with informants chosen from the ranks of adolescent women who were the focus of the research as well as those persons peripheral to the adolescent sphere but integral in terms of understanding factors contributing to the adolescent station in the community, e.g. parents, boyfriends, and key community personnel such as health providers, school administrators and teachers, agency personnel, ministers, and others identified in the course of the research as pivotal in adolescent affairs.

The sample of adolescent informants was based on and derived primarily from the population of approximately 2500 students attending the middle, high, and vocational schools. One hundred girls between the ages of thirteen to nineteen were interviewed and observed, with approximately twenty of these becoming primary informants. Roughly two-thirds of informants belonged to the early-middle phase of adolescence, i.e. thirteen to sixteen years. The majority of adolescents in the study were from low to middle income families typical of the

economically disadvantaged community with less than 20 percent representing the families which by community standards formed the higher income stratum. The educational background of the girls' families was consistent with established descriptions of this economic group: education of parents typically terminated at high school. Some 10 to 15 percent of fathers were college-educated and only about 5 to 10 percent of mothers.

The sample of adults included in the study numbered roughly seventy-five. Two-thirds of adults were women and one-third men. The adult informants were divided into three categories of approximately equal proportions, key community persons, parents, and young adults (post-adolescents).

In addition to the adolescent girls who were the subjects of the study and the adult members of the community judged as having special insights into adolescent concerns, a small number of teenage boys, about fifteen, were included. These boys were selected as the male counterparts to the girls in the study and were characterized by similar socio-economic attributes. A small sampling of adolescent boys were deemed appropriate because while young men were not the focus of the study, their viewpoints were felt to be necessary to corroborate and complete the information given by girls. Often, but not always, these young men presented themselves for notice by virtue of a relationship to a girl in the informant group, e.g. a boyfriend or husband. Others were selected through the researcher's networks as being young men who were likely to be active enough in the adolescent social scene to be good relaters of their personal experiences and observations.

Following the definition of the research problem, selection of a site in which it might be explored was the next step. The dimensions of the problem, i.e. sexuality of white adolescent women in the rural south, determined the characteristics of the site to the extent that it must be a southern rural community. Strawberry Junction was chosen on the basis of observations during a previous summer pilot project conducted as part of a larger technical assistance survey contracted by the Board of County Commissioners for planning purposes, and background research into its demographic composition.

The community was found to conform to the typical southern pattern: land-based economy, religious fundamentalism, primarily kin-based social organization, and complementary sex roles (Dollard 1937, Davis, et al. 1941, Morland 1971). It is a small community akin to Redfield's little community (1955): the small size, approximately 5,000 population living in a circumscribed space, made the social system more "visible" and the adolescents under scrutiny more easily available for observation than would be possible in a larger community.

The community is characteristically distinctive, having apparent limits not only to the observer but as expressed in the group consciousness of its denizens. The community is homogeneous in that similar activities obtain for persons in corresponding sex and age positions, generational life patterns cycle similarly to those of the preceding one, and the overall tone of life is conservative and unchanging. In the main, the community is self-sufficient. Because of these Redfieldian traits, the community would be classed as more "folk" than urban (Foster 1953), particularly with respect to an interdependence of component parts, face-to-face personal relations, sacred sanctions for

conduct, relative social immobility, and importance of kinship extensions in institutional structure.

The fact that Strawberry Junction is the county seat furnished additional reasons for its selection as the study site. It contains the only school facilities for secondary education and houses most of the county's sparse medical resources. Like most rural areas, the medical climate is poor; personnel and facilities are minimal and community residents must seek the bulk of their health care from non-community resources. In the case of women's health services, particularly obstetrical, most care is delivered through the auspices of a federally funded project administered through the University of Florida. This project thus provided an invaluable system of linkages into the community for the researcher as well as a usable body of information which could be tapped.

The community was initially approached by using available statistical documents and local materials to interpret the trend of adolescent natality patterns and analyze the community structure in terms of demographic composition, economic status, health profile, and social organization from a non-observational point of reference. Relevant available materials included such documents as census data, health summaries, school records and publications, economic reports, and community-compiled references such as club rosters, business and service directories, and Chamber of Commerce brochures.

Other published or prepared documents which were particularly useful were planning surveys, compilations of materials derived from various other sources and cast in a county-specific format; local reference materials which were service-oriented and had been prepared

for the use of agency personnel, e.g. community mental health area profiles, and public records, such as marriage license applications, which gave valuable information concerning under-age marriages, often including disclosure of premarital pregnancy.

In addition, the local newspaper was faithfully followed for its wealth of social news, announcements of events for observation, and items noteworthy for analysis of the local community social system. Moreover, the back issues of the newspaper, particularly the anniversary and centennial editions, represented the most complete account of local history. Fortunately, the editor of the newspaper had become the local historian and has amassed an extensive and quite diverse collection of historical materials to which he granted access.

The major part of the fieldwork process consisted of various levels of participant observation including interviewing techniques. All observations of the community made while resident in it may be classified as participant if one has the distinction of belonging in some fashion to the phenomenon being observed or some discernible relationship to the informant being interviewed; however, levels of belonging in any particular situation vary and affect the quality of the information thus derived. Hence, even though one is a participant in the sense of living in the town being studied, the observations made with this minimal degree of involvement are more formal and one observes from the outside. Little or no interaction is required to observe events of a public nature or interview a community leader.

Participant observation done under circumstances where one has an active part in the happenings, however, yields a different quality of information. This can be advantageous in that an "inside" view may be

obtained, but the drawback is that more is required from the researcher in terms of rapport-building to achieve the necessary acceptance. In order to gain the most complete picture of the adolescent milieu, I decided to observe public community events, or "spectator" observation; interview key persons in the community; and contrive means by which to become a participant observer in the stricter sense.

Spectator observation was used throughout the period of research, but was initially more heavily relied upon because it represented a means of becoming familiarized with the community and identifying future routes of inquiry and probable contacts. In addition to learning the physical set-up by driving and walking about it, spectator observation of events such as parades, rodeos, fairs, movies, high school football games, church services, and so forth, revealed much about social patterns, e.g. age/sex-discriminated social interaction. These events provided opportunities to informally interview persons participating in the event by assuming the role of a curious stranger, an advantageous role "provided it is the role of objective and friendly stranger rather than authoritarian, critic or pestiferous interloper" (Langness 1965:34).

Becoming a spectator had the additional advantage of making the anthropologist familiar to the townspeople and thus increasing acceptability in later, less easily arranged situations. Identification as a community resident was enormously instrumental in achieving success in arranging interviews, receiving introductions to sought-after individuals, and entree to groups.

As familiarity with the community and its social order increased, the choice of spectator events became more specialized. While spectator

observation at first served the purpose of getting to know the community and establishing reference points within it, the technique was used later to trace social networks, observe specific behavior, and corroborate information from other sources.

Albeit more relied on in the initial phases of the research, and in fact preceding residency in the field, interviewing of key persons in the community also spanned the research period. Persons were selected for interview on the basis of their accessibility either to information concerning some aspect of adolescent sexuality, or to other persons of interest, be they information sources or adolescents themselves. Persons judged to be information sources were both those directly concerned with adolescent problems, including sexuality, e.g. school counselors, teachers, health caregivers, and social service agency personnel; and those whose concerns, while not necessarily peripheral, nevertheless rendered less direct access to informational sources, e.g. mothers, "volunteer mothers" - chaperones, club sponsors, and others in special adult-teenager non-kin fiduciary relationships, and various non-categorizable persons who stood in confidante relationships to young persons by virtue of their structural position or due to personality characteristics which accorded a measure of rapport. Naturally, identification of these latter individuals stemmed from growing familiarity with the system rather than an immediate judgment.

The interview situation was conducted rather formally. An appointment was made ahead of time and the interview usually scheduled to occur during working hours at the office, or residence in certain cases, of the informant. In all cases, the purpose for the interview was carefully explained, e.g. gathering information for later incorporation in

written report, along with the means of guaranteeing source confidentiality. Consent was obtained before proceeding.

At the outset, it was decided to use key persons as an introduction into the mainstream of adolescent social realms; the rationale for this approach was that persons in positions of authority over adolescents and having access to information about them not accessible to the ordinary person would be better able to identify those active in socio-sexual interaction sets and affect an introduction. This working from the top down, hierarchically speaking in terms of age/sex categories and social structural positions, achieved only a modest degree of success and so was discarded in favor of reaching informants from the bottom up, e.g. on the recommendation of a peer or through identification via the network formed by means of participation in adolescent behavior.

For example, girls would "pass" the researcher on to a friend either by arranging a meeting or giving their permission for their names to be used as an introductory gambit. In this way, anthropologist-informant contact was verified in both directions: the anthropologist was assured that the informant would be informative and cooperative and the informant was assured that the anthropologist could be trusted with confidences. Without express permission, identities of informants were never revealed to other informants by the anthropologist.

Participation in adolescent affairs was effected by joining as many interactional groups as possible which could be characterized as constituted largely by adolescents or which had some primary relevance to teenage concerns. These groups were diverse, including ones found at activities such as a women's softball team, the Girl Scouts, girls' club functions, dances, and, most productive of information, "cruising."

Cruising consisted of driving around the town, following established routes and acting in prescribed ways to meet other young people who were in the circuit, and it furnished first hand experience of the adolescent method of socio-sexual recruitment. In addition, the anthropologist made it known that an "open house" policy would be maintained so that adolescents could feel free to drop in without specific invitation. Thus, girls often visited the house spontaneously.

To augment the information derived from participant observation, interviews were conducted with selected informants. Most of these were women: mothers as well as girls because in order to understand the presenting behavior of girls it is necessary to recognize the effect of the "more rigid cultural milieu of her mother's girlhood" (Mead 1928: 189), but men were also included for their knowledge of the sexual sphere. Formality of the interview varied according to the personal qualities of the informant, the nature of the information sought, and the situation. Informant qualities affecting the interview were articulateness, willingness to disclose information usually confined to their peers, and trust of the researcher's ability to maintain confidentiality.

Strauss and Schatzman (1960) pointed to cross-class differences in interactive and communicative styles which can effect the interview situation; lower class informants tend to be less verbal and need directing whereas middle class informants are more able to verbalize their experiences without frequent prodding and understand the larger implications of the interview, e.g. that an ultimately wider audience is being addressed.

Hence, in situations where an articulate and motivated informant was involved, an open-ended interview was used. In cases where the informant was not especially verbal, as well as in instances where the purpose of the interview was to elicit specific information, e.g. to corroborate previous information or hypothesis, or to compile a life history, a more structured interview was used. The question of trust of the interviewer was often resolved by the passage of time and the word of mouth from other informants if they had suggested that a friend might "like to talk." Group sessions also affected the nature of the information offered in terms of selection of statements to be made in the presence of friends.

Most of these interviews were conducted in the home of the interviewer, in cars while riding around, or at local hangouts. In all cases, strict privacy was maintained to accord with the needs of the informant. Some girls, for instance, preferred to relate on a one-to-one basis and others did not feel the need to avoid identification with the researcher or maintain secret relationships. Referral of friends or providing introductions to others in the peer group was left to the discretion of the informant. In addition, consent was obtained from adult guardians when the informant was unable to furnish legal consent. Regardless of legal consent, however, the nature and purpose of the research was painstakingly explained in every case to the informant and any questions answered before proceeding.

As is usual in anthropological studies, non-probability sampling was employed (Honigman 1973); selection was made on the basis of availability, willingness, fortuitousness, and so forth rather than in accordance with principles for assuring a random sample. Survey

methods were ruled as being incompatible with the nature of the research problem and the characteristics of the site; "the method of approach is based upon the assumption that a detailed intensive investigation will be of more value than a more diffuse and general study based upon a less accurate knowledge of a greater number of individuals" (Mead 1928: 189). Moreover, the type of data needed is not the sort which readily lends itself to quantitative treatment:

As the physician and psychiatrist have found it necessary to describe each case separately and to use their cases as illumination of a thesis rather than irrefutable proof such as it is possible to adduce in the physical sciences, so the student of the more intangible and psychological aspects of human behavior is forced to illuminate rather than demonstrate a thesis. (Mead 1928:190)

After the selection of a site that is reasonably representative based on criteria following from the research problem and accompanying theory (Arensberg and Kimball 1961, Honigman 1973), individuals were selected using a combination of judgment sampling, according to specified criteria, such as age, sex, and status; and opportunistic sampling, "chunk" sampling, or utilizing any handy chunk of the universe likely to yield relevant information (Honigman 1973). The study was cross-sectional rather than linear.

A description of the field experience itself is essential for understanding the development of a viable methodology and, in this case, valuable in terms of revealing problem areas in doing research for those whose interests may induce them to attempt fieldwork, particularly in the American setting. A great deal has been written by anthropologists about the field work mystique. Its importance as a rite of passage (van Gennep 1960) has been noted and rules have been laid down for its successful accomplishment (e.g. Freilich 1970, Spindler 1970, Mead 1935).

The potential for physical and psychological damage to the fieldworker has been explained along with the means for combating it. However, with few exceptions, field work is assumed to be synonymous with foreign research, with the result that few guidelines for conducting field work in a non-foreign cultural setting have been established.

Freilich (1970) defines field work as consisting of two distinguishable, if overlapping stages: passive research and active research. The passive research stage consists of the adaptation period in which "the anthropologist must learn how to survive physically, psychologically, and morally in a strange setting" (1970:18). Solving the pressing problems encountered in conducting the research involves dealing with at least four types of problems which shade into the active research stage, or data collecting stage, as well: physical survival, psychological comfort, everyday pragmatics, and moral dilemmas. Whereas Freilich, of course, addresses his discourse to the foreign field situation, problems surrounding these same concerns arise with equally frustrating regularity, albeit perhaps a different magnitude, in the field setting within one's own presumably familiar turf. Leaving aside for the moment the theoretical problems raised by anthropologists concerning observations of one's kind, can one assume that locating research within a non-foreign setting eliminates certain kinds of problems, e.g. food, shelter, medical care, safety, language, and gaining acceptability? In the case of this study, the emergence of these kinds of problems went contrary to expectations and may therefore have been more difficult to resolve than had their appearance been expected.

The initial problems encountered were physical survival-oriented. Successful entrance into the community depended upon establishing

residence in a way that assured a modicum of physical comfort, safety, and accessibility, while remaining within restrictions imposed by budget, availability, and locally established socio-geographic patterns, i.e. local customs decreed that middle class white persons live in prescribed ways. Rental property is scarce in rural areas and it was difficult to find accommodations which met the criteria.

After moving in, it took a long time to arrange for certain services. An example of this was telephone service: it was almost two months before a telephone was installed and several months afterwards before a private line could be assigned. Use of a telephone was essential in terms of arranging contacts and having a private line seemed critical for assuring confidentiality while conversing with informants because the gossip-disseminating properties of the small town party line were well-known.

Psychological comfort was connected to seemingly trivial circumstances as well as to the major contributor: acceptance into the community. Certain circumstances which later seemed of little consequence, initially loomed large. For example, living as a solitary woman in the midst of a cultural group well-known for its violence without the reassuring presence of family and friends or even the connection via telephone to the outside world, created considerable stress and feelings of insecurity.

The potential trauma of the field situation in terms of feelings of loneliness and inadequacy to complete the assigned task in the face of difficulties perhaps unforeseen has been noted to the extent that "field-work can cause emotional and psychological stress to the point that an individual may question his commitment to anthropology and the beliefs underling this activity" (Hill 1974:408). To assume that this stress

occurs only under primitive deprivation is erroneous; removal from the familiar sphere into an unfamiliar and, in certain respects, hostile one, produces strain on even the independent personality, at least in the beginning stages of the field work.

The real crux of the field situation, however, and the most anxiety-ridden due to the penalties attached to failure on this score, is the achievement of acceptance into the community. It is difficult to establish a role for oneself that is both identifiable and understandable to the community at large as well as tenable in terms of one's culture of orientation. Factors defining the researcher role and serving as the criteria for labelling by the informants are cultural distance, sex/age, lack of blood or marriage relationships to local persons (Kluckhohn 1940), and status (Gusfield 1960).

Most anthropologists bent on doing participant observation assume the role of uninformed but curious stranger desirous of being socialized. Freilich (1970) likens this position to that of a "marginal native", a role that "is not an easy one to play, for the real natives are often suspicious of the anthropologist for although his credentials appear legitimate, his goals honorable, and his behavior friendly, his work is of a kind that few, if any, have ever heard of before" (1970:2).

Suspicion of the researcher springs from and perhaps unaccountable most commonly recognized one being the differentness of the researcher. Liebow (1967:252) presents a graphic account of his informants' perception of him:

They saw or knew many other things as well, any one of which relegated me to outside status. Those with whom I was in regular contact knew, for example, that I was with them because it was my job to be with them, and they knew, according to their individual comprehension and my ability to

communicate, just what my job was. They knew that I lived outside the area. They knew that I was a college graduate, or at least they associated an advanced education with the work I was doing. Moreover, it was apparent, certainly to me, that I was not fluent in their language. Thus, I was an outsider not only because of race, but also because of occupation, education, residence, and speech.

My experience was similar to Liebow's although the differences between researcher and study population were ostensibly less noticeable: we were, after all, the same race and I was actually living in the same community and thus, involved in many common pursuits with my informants. However, that I was an outsider was immediately apparent to everyone: I lacked the most important shibboleth: the southern accent. My background is "Yankee," a term commonly used to denote derision or hostility, and presented itself in my dialect. The most commonly asked question at an initial encounter was, "Where are you from?" The answer that I had grown up in the South was a mollifying factor, but I nevertheless revealed myself as not being adept in the acceptable language, making many gaffes as a result, and creating barriers.

Moreover, my verbal style also indicated an educational schism between myself and most of my informants. Education, particularly for women, is not highly valued in the rural south. Other attributes, such as rugged individualism, are deemed more conducive to achieving success and status; hence the intellectual life is often viewed as either pretentious or escapist, and the academic community is felt to be composed of eggheads who are not equipped with practical abilities and are more often regarded with hostility than awe. I often found myself the butt of jokes on this behalf. People were quick to suspect patronism, and I became well aware of the "detrimental effects of a suspected attitude of superiority and condescension" (Kluckhohn 1940:339).

The second most frequently asked question, "What does your husband do?", also pointed to my anomalous position in the community. This not only increased my horizons in terms of contacts, but also branded me as a "good woman," a label that was absolutely vital in terms of being allowed access to intimate details of adolescent life.

Rural southerners are well-known for their insularity-- outwardly, they are honeyedly courteous to the stranger and I was quickly recognized and treated with flowery effusion by shopkeepers. However, the in-out dividing line is rigid, and insiders do not readily accept a stranger into the more personal aspects of their lives. As an example of this, I was extremely disheartened over the initial lark of success of a ploy to become accepted into social aspects of the community. I had joined a women's softball team and had been practicing at least twice a week with them for several months before anyone initiated a conversation with me or even seemed to be in any way aware of my presence. The real turning point was in joining a church. After that, I found my acceptance almost unquestioned.

As the active stage of the data gathering progressed, questions of acceptance paled in importance and other issues became paramount. Pragmatic arrangements, e.g. scheduling my time, locating informant encounters, and so forth, presented few problems. Moral dilemmas, however and perhaps inevitably, emerged. The major consideration was, of course, to maintain standards of confidentiality regarding not only the subject matter discussed in an interview, but also the identity of the informant. I was careful to never use a person's name to acquire an "in" with another person unless I had expressly received permission ahead of time to do so. The question of reciprocity in field work arose and, like Wax

1960), I felt that the fieldworker was under an obligation to reciprocate the good will and confidences of the informants in whatever fashion seemed appropriate and feasible (Mauss 1954), ranging from reciprocal self-disclosure and satisfying the curiosity of the informant about events of my life and experience, to a more practical reciprocity. For example, chaperoning dances not only furnished me with data but also met a real community need as adults willing to do this were not abundant. In other cases, I offered to act as the chauffeur for a group of girls desirous of cruising around, but lacking the means of doing so.

In other instances, I offered to perform services, e.g. taking notes at a medical meeting that the county health department personnel had wished to attend but were unable to. However, I also was occasionally put in a difficult position by being asked to condone or initiate behavior of which the adult portion of the community could not approve, e.g. buy liquor for girls or allow them to smoke or drink in my house or car, and which I could not ethically do while being responsible for the persons with me. In cases where my presence was not the key factor, i.e. I was not asked to provide the means by which adolescents acquired and/or consumed alcoholic beverages, I did not feel responsible for curtailing the behavior as it was occurring within my observation but not under my jurisdiction.

The problem I found most difficult to deal with within my personal and professional ethical framework was brought about by virtue of the confidence I was able to establish and the rapport created with my informants. In order to get the data I needed, I had established relationships of trust with the girls in order that they would feel comfortable about confiding intimate details of their lives to me and I

had reciprocated in the ways in which I thought appropriate. Naturally, as I came to know these informants and had discovered aspects of their socio-sexual system of behavior, I began to feel an attachment to them and empathized with their several predicaments. In the course of the information-seeking, it was normal to inquire into the state of their sexual and physiological knowledge and learn details of how they put their system of information into practice. It became common for them to reveal that they needed to know more in order to maintain their lifestyle without mishap but had no one to whom they could turn for information but me. I did not feel that it was within professional ethical standards for me to stand as sexual advisor to these girls very much at risk, nor did I feel that I could suggest other avenues they might explore and still maintain an acceptable position in the community.

Kluckhohn (1940) maintains that for participant observation to be a success one must become immersed in the community to the extent that it becomes interesting in its own right and not merely as an object of research; to "be isolated from others of one's own ilk" (1940:341) bends one to the life of the community as nothing else can perhaps do so well. That a part of one's own culture can be so alien as to require this has been questioned by anthropologists on the grounds that one's own culture is so familiar as to preclude viewing it with the eyes of an outsider and therefore asking the right questions.

My view is different; the researcher doing participant observation even within his own culture is perceived as an alien by virtue of the fact that he is not playing an easily identified and categorizable role. Furthermore, the position of researcher is made difficult in terms of acceptance. In a foreign cultural atmosphere, the stranger is clearly

perceived as a stranger and expected to behave as one and is accorded a degree of latitude of behavior departing from the norm because he is not expected to know the ways of the persons whose territory he has entered and can be seen to be trying to adapt. In one's own culture, however, the researcher may have to work even harder to achieve acceptance because he is expected to conform to the normal standards of behavior, and thus any inadvertent social errors are viewed much more seriously, and departure from the familiar pattern, perceived as "strangeness," more severely stigmatized.

The question of relevance also pertains; there is clearly reason enough to discard the bias in favor of foreign research as being the only truly valid anthropological endeavor and turn in equal measure to delving into home problems. "Anthropology could certainly contribute more than it does to such subjects as what it really means to be male or female and how to channel aggressive impulses, subjects in which there is intense interest and on which there is much sensational misinformation" (Gulick 1968:98).

CHAPTER III
THE SETTING: COMMUNITY AND COUNTY IN CONTEXT

Visually, the town has little aesthetic appeal. It is an antebellum southern town whose growth pattern reflects a development parallel to that of the transportation lines whose traffic spurred and later sustained the growth of the town, rather than appearing as the faded but charming relic of the pictorial plantation system which distinguishes certain other towns of its relative size, age and level of economic stagnation.

Built upon a low, flat plain, Strawberry Junction presents a stark vista: buildings are square, low and architecturally nondescript, and no tree-lined avenues provide relief from the merciless summer sun. The highway, which is the major artery of the town in terms of its economic and social vitality as well as for traffic, bisects the town and attracts its main commercial enterprises, hence giving the community its stamp in appearance. Strip development along the highway has occurred so that the passer-through is presented with a procession of chain fast-food restaurants which have proliferated in an exaggerated proportion to the size of the town; motels, of which two are chains but the much greater number are local establishments of long duration; car dealers and gas stations; bars; and various other outlets of national business houses, such as catalogue sales companies. Indeed, most of the franchise businesses reside along the highway, while most of the locally developed businesses can be found in the town proper, which lies in areas contiguous to the highway, a situation which reflects both the economic necessity for

attracting travelers to automobile-related businesses and the insularity of the town in maintaining certain activities for "home folks."

With the exception of drugstore counters, all of the community's restaurants are ranged along the highway also, each with its characteristic habitues. The fast food outfits siphon off travelers and school-skipping students and two well-known restaurants engage the bulk of the town's lunch trade. One, called the "Ranchhouse", distinguished by a statue of a cowboy outside, caters to the working men, mechanics, gas station attendants, and so forth; and the other, owned by an immigrant but long-established family, attracts the young professional and business men who gather daily at lunch for gossip of local business affairs, and which is favored for club activities and civic luncheons. During the evening, the highway becomes a strip, with the fast food stops and gas stations becoming points on the highly visible and distinctive line of traffic which flows back and forth as young persons look for others to engage in social interaction.

Also verging on the highway are the high school, city recreation department, and the two courthouses - the new and old ones. The old courthouse, constructed at the turn of the century in the typical red brick Victorian gothic style of the period, was retained for its historical value and is currently undergoing renovations stimulated by the bicentennial to render it usable for offices and a museum of local historical artifacts. The new courthouse, built in the late 1960's, was constructed as a bomb shelter in the campaign to provide "shelter spaces for [the county's] entire resident and transient population. This represents a progression from no available shelter spaces in 1964 to shelter for everyone within a period of seven years" (Anonymous 1968).

Adjoining the old courthouse is an old stucco building converted to use for offices but which formerly housed the jail and which is cloaked in lore concerning the gallows and other unsavory but titillating legends. The new jail facilities are housed in a modern red brick two-story edifice which unfortunately overlooks the city recreation ball park where the secondary sport is mutual taunting between inmates and visitors/passersby.

Aside from the highway environs, with the neon sign and billboard appearance characteristic of the strip development, the configuration of the town's commercial enterprises conforms to that of most small and economically low-vigored communities. The central business district is located to the east of the highway and ranges over several blocks of three parallel streets. "Town" proper consists mostly of small clothing and jewelry stores, drugstores, variety and hardware stores, a shoe store, a pet shop, beauty salons, the movie theatre, the Post Office, and occasional specialty shops which are generally short-lived, such as a hobby shop and a plant store. The Woman's Club and banks are also in this section of town, as is the small but well-appointed public library. Off and on, a teen center was open which provided amusements for young persons such as pinball machines, however, since it also served as the nexus for a lively drug network; its open times were sporadic until it eventually closed for good.

The pace of the town commercial activities is leisurely. There are no parking meters and one can always be assured of finding parking space while shopping. Sidewalks are not congested and stores are uncrowded. Activity levels are reminiscent of an earlier, less hurried period of time and this illusion is occasionally supported by the sight of someone

coming to town on horseback. From time to time, because of the somewhat casual shopping patterns of the area residents and to lure customers away from several small shopping centers, the downtown merchants sponsor campaigns designed to attract crowds, such as merchandise giveaways and special attractions such as baby photographers or carnivals. In addition, downtown merchants look favorably on the various charitable ventures which act as draws to potential customers, such as the ubiquitous rummage and bake sales, and are quick to donate space in which these sales may be held.

In addition to these small shopping centers, usually offering a grocery store, drugstore, and department store as the major stores, the community is peppered with numerous minute markets which are heavily shopped due both to their adaptation to the vehicle and to their longer hours of operation. The importance of the vehicle, preferably a pickup truck, in the life of Strawberry Junction can be readily observed through the phenomenon of these jiffy stores. At any hour of the night or day, depending on the length of operation of a particular store, one can see a constant flow of trucks and cars stopping to make a small purchase and hanging around inside or in the parking lot talking to others who drop in for the purpose of finding someone to talk to. At night the stores which stay open all night may gather a slightly larger portion of hangers on, but the parking lots of closed stores and gas stations also attract persons looking around for some social action.

Missing from the commercial scene, somewhat surprisingly, are produce markets. There is one large market owned by an old area family but there are few small stands and fresh produce is difficult to find, considering that the area is a farming area. The Farmer's Market is

open seasonally one-and-one-half days per week with varying degrees of success, depending upon the available produce.

The larger churches, e.g. the First Baptist and Methodist churches, the Episcopal church, and the Presbyterian church, are in the town proper with the Catholic church the only major denomination placed on the highway. The numerous small fundamentalist churches are found on less-traveled streets in or near the town proper, but proliferate mostly on the rural outskirts.

The residential configuration of the town appears to be the result of random growth rather than emerging from a well-thought out city plan, although the current zoning commission seems determined to regularize future growth within specifications determined through a careful study contracted to the University of Florida Urban and Regional Development Center (Schneider 1974).

The oldest houses are found toward the center of town and again in the outlying rural areas. These houses, of two general types, are large and often quite charming. The first type, found mostly in town, is the Victorian house of several stories and surrounded along its length by verandas. These very large houses have often been either converted to apartments or accommodated to a business.

The second type is that often found in the rural south and here located mostly in the rural areas: a large frame house of one story but with a high peaked roof covering an extensive attic and fronted by a porch, often screened in covering the length of the house face. These houses are built about a yard above the ground and, with their high ceilings, offer some protection from the heat. The survival of these houses has been at the dictates of the owners and the demands made upon

the land; until very recently, little attempt has been made to assess the historic worth of the community's older buildings, but a nationwide resurgence in interest in preserving the past has influenced Strawberry Junction as well and an Historical Commission has been established for this purpose.

Within the city limits, many different kinds of housing can be found. It is not uncommon to find trailers and much higher-priced houses placed in contiguity with shanties or commercial establishments. Many living arrangements include livestock in their menage resulting in cows, goats, horses, rabbits, and chickens residing in the town. Several housing subdivisions can also be found within which the houses are fairly standardized, ranging from low middle income tract houses to expensive and handsome architect-designed houses found to the east of town near the country club. Although it is apparent that many houses are situated in a setting in which attention has been paid to landscaping, a common feature of the general scene is the yard which conforms to no discernible arrangement of plant life but rather serves as a storage lot for the debris of living, particularly for the ubiquitous car up on blocks that is the sine qua non of the style of life which in the south is known as "redneck" culture.

The aforementioned residential patterns are, of course, white ones. Blacks are segregated in fact, if not by law, in Strawberry Junction, at least within the confines of the town; the pattern is less rigid in the rural areas where one may find black and white in the same vicinity. The main "colored town" is a cluster of small houses, churches, stores, bars or "jukes" (so called because of the juke box), and a government subsidized apartment complex called "The Project". Whites are seldom

seen in this area, called Faro, unless they have specific business to transact there, as the area is supposedly dangerous for whites.

Apartment living, in the guise of building complexes for this purpose, is not common in Strawberry Junction and few of these complexes exist. Rental property in the form of single family units, apartments converted from older and larger houses, and trailers, serve in its stead. In addition, the many small motels offer extended short-range living quarters for non-permanent residents of the community, e.g. visitors to inmates of the nearby state penitentiary.

The recreational features of the community include athletic facilities, e.g. ball parks, tennis courts, and the rodeo arena which is part of the fairgrounds; a public park; a commercial campground; and several nearby lakes which, although they are actually located in the adjoining county, are considered a prominent feature in the community life and, indeed, are considered to be part of the community.

The physical description of the community is the tangible result of its historical development, the events of which have shaped the present social, economic and physical configuration of the town. Old maps indicate that the town was an intersection point for several trails transversing North Central Florida and the area was described as one where "towering forests of yellow pine delight the eye of the professional mill man, the stretches of woodland pasture invite the stock-raiser, the arable soil a tempting location for farmer and fruit grower, the health-restoring, health-preserving pine woods air imparting vigor to the individual and new strength to the robust man" (Webb 1885); hence settlers were attracted to stop there.

An identifiable community began to be established around 1830, before the Seminole Indian Wars, when settlers mostly from middle Georgia and the Carolinas came in search of cheap land. These early settlers grew cotton, corn, tobacco, and worked the pine forests for lumber and naval stores, forming a settlement of sparsely distributed small farms scattered through the woods. The announcement that the next link of the cross-Florida Fernandina-Cedar Key railroad being laid in the 1850's would pass through the town spurred the establishment of a more permanent settlement: the post office was started in 1857, officially founding the town. The completion of the railroad caused the first of a series of growth spurts for the area, which then "grew at a great rate, and ...from being a mere logging camp of furzy white men and ragged negroes, became a smart, clean town of refined northern settlers" (Anonymous 1925).

Strawberry Junction served as the terminus for the railroad for the year following its arrival, and the impact of the railroad on the development of the town was manifested in its physical layout. In the oldest part of town, vestiges of the original plan can be seen; streets and avenues are laid out not according to section lines, but rather in lines drawn parallel and perpendicular to the railroad tracks.

Local reverberations from the Civil War were not particularly far-reaching in an historical sense. No major battles were fought on home soil although at least one Union raiding party is recorded to have wrecked temporary havoc in the town by burning some freight cars standing on the railroad track. Although the county is named after a Civil War figure, the area seems surprisingly deficient in extant Civil War memorabilia and lore. Nevertheless, a readily apparent and fairly active antipathy towards "Yankees" remains as a viable remnant of the hostilities.

Growth of the community has been sporadic with spurts coincident with economic episodes in its own history and in the development of its environs. The area was and remains heavily dependent upon agriculture. Initially, cotton was the major crop with the citrus industry latterly coming to the fore. However, several severe freezes towards the turn of the century culminating in the famed "Big Freeze" of 1895 proved the growing of citrus to be unfeasible, and the appearance of the boll weevil shortly ended the ascendancy of cotton as a major money-maker. Fortunately the area was found to be ideal for the raising of winter strawberries for the northeastern markets. Strawberries became a lucrative crop and brought an additional temporary prosperity to the town in the guise of the seasonal influx of buyers and shippers.

External developments have been the pivotal determinants of growth to the town. The major growth spurts have been concommittants of the building of major transportation links: the cross-Florida railroad connecting the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and a major highway running the length of the State account for the bulk of the town's economic and population growth. The numbers of people living in the town was reduced by the First World War, but the Florida land boom of the 1920's affected Strawberry Junction, as much of the State, by bringing in new waves of migrants. World War II represented a period of dramatic growth for the area via the installation of one of the largest army bases in the country. Local residents feared that the war's end would deplete the base's operation, thus rendering Strawberry Junction a virtual ghost town, but these fears were largely ungrounded. The war boom could not continue, but the base was converted into a substantial National Guard encampment which, along with the State Penitentiary, now accounts for a major portion of the town's economic base.

TABLE 1

Population Change in North Central County, Northeast
 Florida Region* and the State of Florida
 1950-1970

	1950 Population	1960 Population	Percent Change 1950-1960	1970 Population	Percent Change 1960-1970
NORTH CENTRAL COUNTY	11,457	12,446	+ 8.6%	14,625	+17.5%
NORTHEAST FLORIDA REGION	543,737	737,045	+35.6%	878,125	+19.1%
FLORIDA	2,771,305	4,951,560	+78.7%	6,789,443	+37.1%

Source: Urban and Regional Development Center, University of Florida Technical Assistance
 to North Central County in Developing A Land Use Plan, 1974.

Today, Strawberry Junction is the county seat of North Central County and principal municipality of four in its county; it numbers approximately one-third of the county's 15,000 inhabitants. The county has retained its rural character, having a population density of fifty-four persons per square mile compared to the overall State density of 153 per square mile. The county lags appreciably behind the current high State levels of population increase, although the 17.5 percent increase of the past decade is regarded by the townspeople as a period of rapid and unprecedented growth. However, a certain amount of this growth results from immigrating residents of nearby cities who use it primarily as a "bedroom town," commuting to conduct their major activities outside the community (see Table 1).

The demographic configuration of the area is one that is common in the south. The white population accounts for three-quarters of the total residents; the non-white population is predominantly black and forms a separate social community. Like much of the south, interracial relations have been problematic. Prejudicial feelings resulting in antipathy on the part of whites for blacks are internalized but can be readily recognized even when a liberal attitude is thought to be assumed as evidenced by a description of rural life written by a towns-person a quarter of a century ago:

The colored people of Strawberry Junction live in their own part of the town, called Faro. They have their own movies, and some stores there. For instance, the barber shop, operated for the colored people alone. The beauty shop is there too...the dry cleaner...does some dry cleaning for some white people. He collects it in his truck. The white people do not seem to think anything about that. He just calls for and delivers to your home or store. The colored have their own schools and churches. They deal in

the white stores. Our jewelry store has some of the very nicest colored trade. My husband does not refuse to repair their watches, etc., as long as they know how to act in a public place. A barber shop next to our store hires a 'shine' boy, who gets only a percentage of the money he collects. (Simpson 1950).

Mandatory integration has brought about certain changes in the social fabric. Blacks and whites now, of course, attend the same schools and are allowed to participate equally in community programs. However, probing ever so slightly beneath the surface, one sees that little has actually changed, even though what changes have been wrought by external forces seem a quantum leap to area denizens. Integration in the schools does bring black and white students, teachers, and, to a degree, parents together in school-related activities, e.g. sports, school government, and fund-raising drives. While this facilitates interaction between races of a much greater intensity both in degree and in kind than heretofore likely, the interaction thus engendered is quite superficial and an iceberg of hostility and racial tension lurks beneath that deceptive surface.

Indeed, within the last five years a trivial racial incident in the high school triggered a reaction which turned the town into an armed camp. One of the drugstores in town, owned by a person of such strong racial sentiments that he preferred to remove the stool seats rather than seat blacks at his lunch counter, contains an arsenal for use in protecting the white citizens. Men with rifles were stationed on the roof of this store and others in cars patrolled the town armed with guns. Feelings ran high and serious trouble was averted by the intervention of the sheriff whose threats subdued the bile of the vigilantes. Partly as a result of this incident and partly due to a fear of an incident arising, there is little social activity sponsored

by the schools; dances are infrequent and, when they occur, are generally sponsored by an organization such as club which can thus restrict the attendance to whites or blacks only.

Whites and blacks are presumably able to participate on an equal basis in community activities and programs. The city recreation department sponsors sports programs such as midget football and little league baseball for boys and softball for both sexes. However, to a large extent these programs are controlled by merchants who sponsor the teams, resulting in a skewed participation pattern. These often turn out to be composed entirely or mostly of one race, adding another dimension to the already fierce competition characteristic of the town's sports programs. In the City League for women's softball, composed of women aged fifteen and up (the bulk of the players being high school girls and young married women), one of the four teams had a large number of blacks. This team placed second in the city championship and later went on to make a good showing in several tournaments, with the result that the team got taken over at the end of the season by a local team of highly competitive players whose ambition was to win national recognition and wanted the younger, inexperienced team as a farm team. At the time of the takeover, the black players were discarded even though several of them were not only excellent players but probably superior to the retained white members of the team.

Activities that fall under the aegis of sports are highly valued in the community and aside from those sponsored by the schools or city, blacks are largely excluded from participation. There is only one swimming pool that functions as a public pool, and this is the pool at the country club. This pool is accessible to members and others under

certain circumstances, but remains an exclusively white domain. There is also an active roping club whose activities are rodeo-like; barrel riding, cloverleaf, and parade riding; again, a whites-only stipulation governs the membership.

Churches promote interracial visitations only in highly ritualized contexts. Two such situations which warrant the participation of the entire religious community of the town are the World Day of Prayer and the Easter Holy Week Celebrations. World Day of Prayer brings the churches together at the Presbyterian church for a worship service and covered dish luncheon, and the Holy Week activities are a series of luncheons held at the Methodist church but sponsored by a different pair of churches each day for a mixed congregation. During these ceremonials, a conspicuous display of "brotherhood" is exhibited towards the few blacks who attend, but at other times one would certainly not expect to find blacks attending white church services. As far as the researcher could learn, there is no question of whites participating as minorities in black churches under any circumstances.

Furthermore, a great deal of mystique attaches to the black realm. Blacks are reputed to be drinkers, fighters and lusty lovers. Most whites avoid going into the "quarters," as Faro is often referred to by whites, especially at night. Whether the reputation is a deserved one or not is unknown, but whites venturing into Fara after dark are thought to be trespassing at the risk of their limbs, if not their lives. White women, especially, do not like to venture into the black terrain at any time and comments to that effect are rife when women gather to gossip, e.g. "I had to take that child home from the Girl Scout meeting and I like to died, but when we got close she said to just let her out and

she'd walk the rest of the way," or "Did you know that Sue takes her yard man home to Faro and lets him sit right in the front seat of the car with her? I'd be afraid of goin' there and afraid of what people might think was goin' on if they saw me with a black man!" Whites also cherish beliefs in the remarkable sexual appetites of blacks. The uncontrollable virility of the black buck is legendary and feared in the south and the black woman is also felt to be lustier than white women, e.g. "Them nigger gals has forgot more about men sex than you 'n me'll ever know."

The white community is fairly homogeneous as is its black counterpart. The major religious identification is Protestant with the Baptist denomination being the most common by far. Within this classification there is a variance from the First Church, the most liberal establishment within the conservative denomination, to the fundamentalist churches, which are the very bastion of fanatical conservatism.

Many of these small churches, of obscure and often esoteric sects falling under the rubric of fundamental Protestantism, do not meet at regular intervals, but operate on a schedule determined by the circuit of the itinerate preacher. In this way, a great many congregations too small to retain a full-time officiant can still maintain their integrity. In addition, there is a small Catholic community and a well-established Mormon following in addition to the other expected Protestant sects. Other faiths, e.g. Judaism and the Black Muslims, may exist but are not apparent.

The age/sex configuration of the county is biased in favor of the younger age cohorts and women (Figure 1). Unlike the rest of the State, the area attracts few retirees, resulting in a median age (approximately

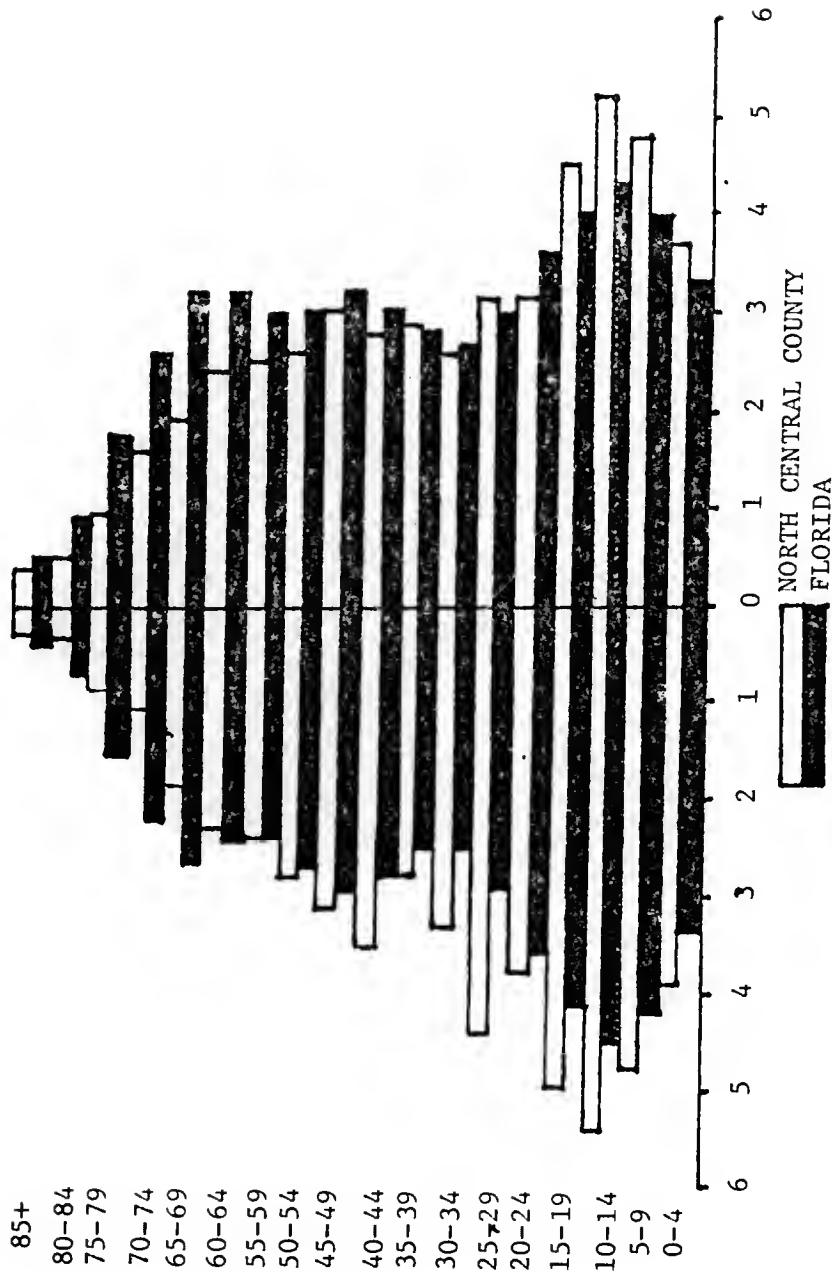


Figure 1: White Population of Florida and North Central County by Age and Sex (Percentage of Total), 1970

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, General Population Characteristics, Florida, pp 63-64, 156.

twenty-eight years) that is five years below the state median (Table 2). Thirty-four percent of the county residents are less than eighteen years old. The county birth rates also differ from the state in that younger women account for proportionately more births. In 1975 in Florida, 12.2 percent of all white live births were to mothers under nineteen years of age but in the county the same age group was responsible for 15.8 percent of total births to white women (Figure 2). Younger women account for the bulk of illegitimate births as well; 53.7 percent of illegitimate births to white women in Florida were to teenaged mothers compared to 66.7 percent of county illegitimate births (Figure 3).

Like the national ratios, area women slightly outnumber men (Table 3) although this is not readily apparent when referring to statistical sources which regularly count the all-male population of the State Penitentiary toward the area total. For statistical purposes this is misleading, adding approximately 1500 men.

However, in certain respects the prison population does affect the town in subtle ways. The relationship of the prison to the town is a complex one. It is, of course, a major source of income for the many who find employment there, not only as guards, but as carpenters, electricians, foresters, and others demanded in its many and varied pursuits. The prison includes farming and stock raising and forests and extensive land holdings and is a more or less self-sufficient institution. It also includes shops which are manned by the inmates as both a rehabilitative measure and as a means of producing needed goods and services.

These goods and services find their way into the local markets in subtle but well-known ways. If one has connections into the prison, and almost everyone does if they exploit their kinship and friendship networks,

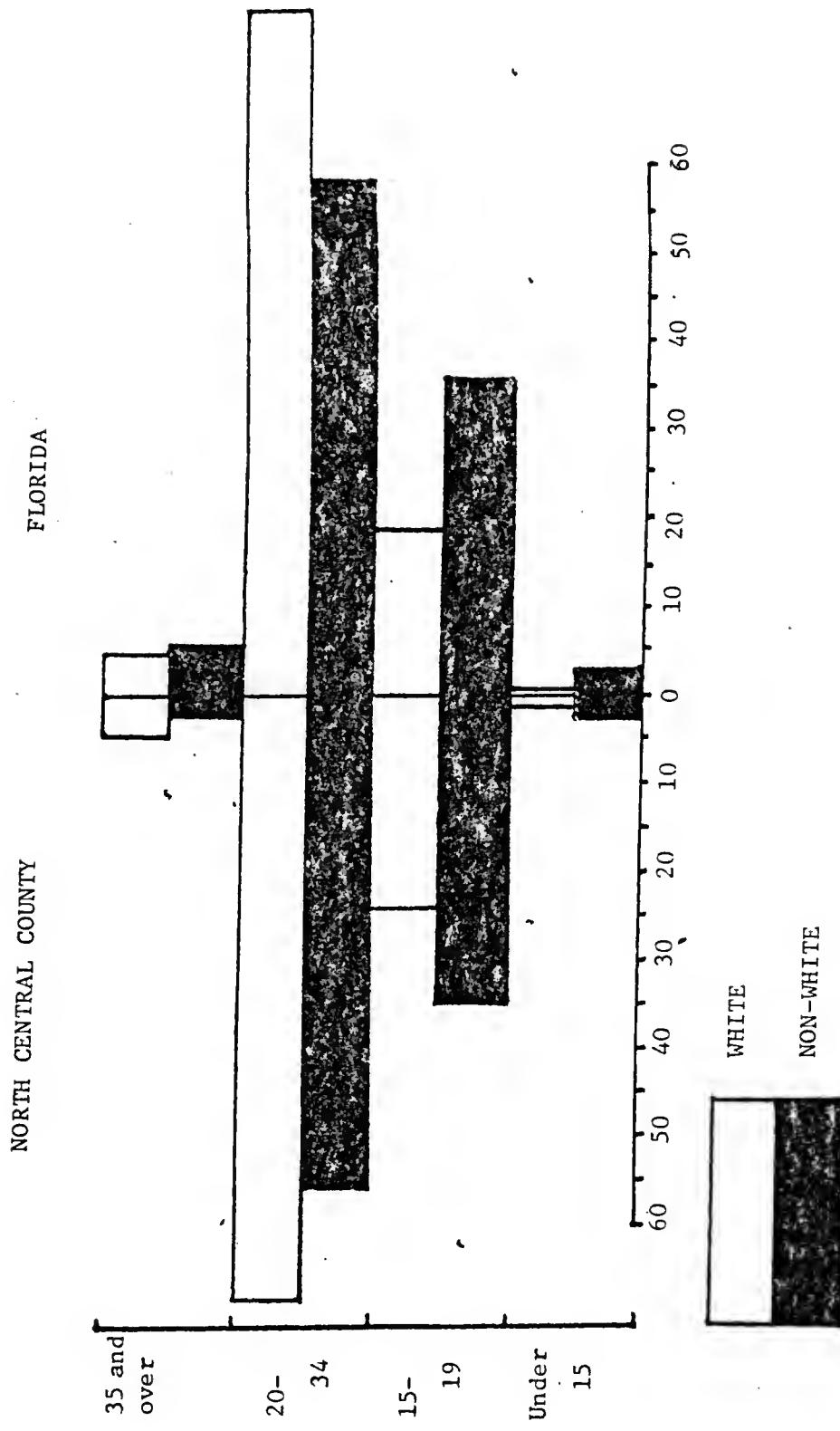


Figure 2: Resident Live Births by Age of Mother, By Race, 1975

Source: Florida Vital Statistics, 1975, pp. 33-34.

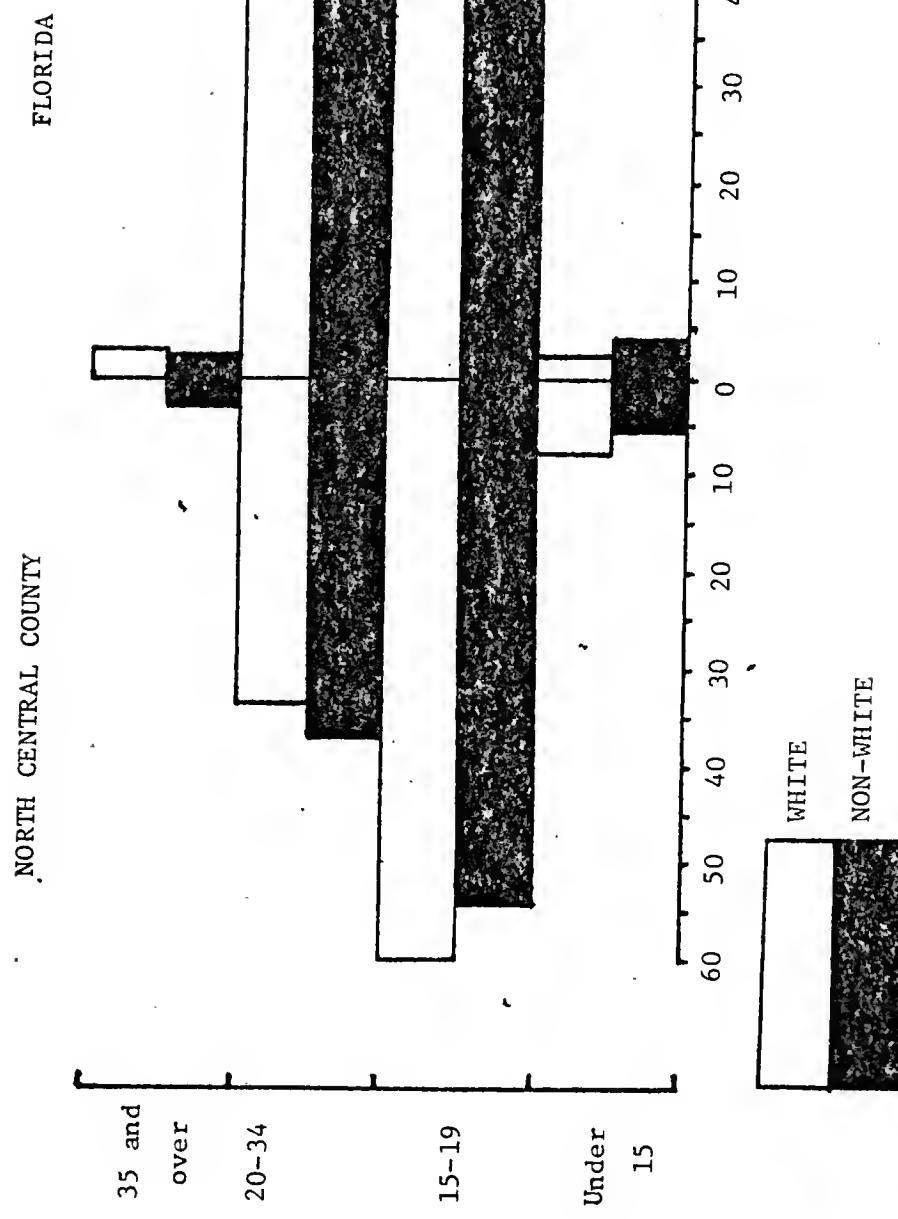


Figure 3: Illegitimate Live Births by Age of Mother, By Race, 1975

Source: Florida Vital Statistics, 1975, pp. 37-38

TABLE 2

Median Age of Population, USA, Florida and North Central County,
1950-1970

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
USA	30.2	29.5	28.3
FLORIDA	30.9	31.2	32.3
NORTH CENTRAL COUNTY	24.0	25.6	27.6

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970
Census of Population, General Characteristics, Florida.

TABLE 3

Sex Ratio* for the Populations of Florida and
 North Central County, Adjusted and Non-Adjusted,** By Race
 1970

	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>
FLORIDA	93.2	93.3	92.0
NORTH CENTRAL COUNTY Adjusted**	93.9	96.2	86.4
NORTH CENTRAL COUNTY Non-Adjusted**	112.7	106.9	134.3

* The sex ratio of any given population equals the number of males per 100 females in that population.

** The inclusion of a large, all-male prison population skews the results of demographic computations for North Central County and gives figures which could be misleading for planning purposes. Therefore, these computations were done on an adjusted population.

Source: Urban and Regional Development Center, University of Florida, Technical Assistant to North Central County in Developing a Land Use Plan, 1974, p. 61.

one can take advantage of the captive labor pool in ways such as getting haircuts from inmate barbers, having furniture built or refinished, having portraits painted from photographs, getting original art works from prison artists, getting plants grown in the prison greenhouse, and getting appliances repaired.

There is a community of prison employees who live on the grounds and who receive services thereby. In former years, everyone from that community had trustees who worked for them much as houseboys and their children were always the best dressed in town due to the efforts of the prison laundry which always provided beautiful starched pinnafores for the girls. Now there is a very active youth organization which provides a recreation program for the adolescent members of the prison families.

Townspeople get into the penitentiary for purposes of finding cheap entertainment. Until recently, persons could go to dinner there, the draw being a steak dinner for a very nominal fee-- less than a dollar. Townspeople also like to go to movies at the prison not only because it is free, but for the additional amusement of watching the prisoners and their "man girlfriends". Additionally, once a year the prison holds its annual spring flower show; an event eagerly anticipated by the townspeople because the flowers are exotic and unfailingly lovely and also because a flower or shrub is given to each attendee as a favor. Social distinctions are blurred at this event where one sees the elderly and distinguished Strawberry Junction matrons avidly discussing growing techniques with convicted criminals, and partaking of refreshments dispensed by inmates dressed in white prison suits with their numbers stenciled above the pockets.

The inmate population is exploited in other ways as well. Girls have admitted to creating an opportunity to go there to meet men, as, for example, by joining an evangelistic mission to "save" the souls of those who have lost their faith. On occasion friendships are formed which lead to marriage -- the ceremony even being conducted "in the yard," meaning while the man is still serving his sentence. Men released from prison are outfitted with clothes, given a bus ticket to some specified place, and two hundred dollars. A practice, more or less naturally expected, has developed in which prostitutes, usually black, wait for these men to appear at the bus terminal and accost them. They are then lured into the nearby Faro and fleeced of their money during the ensuing transaction.

Moreover, it is well known to residents of the town that the men within the prison walls have access to any commodity available on the outside, especially drugs and weapons. The means by which these commodities become so widely available is naturally a covert process, but it is reasonable to surmise that the persons working in the prison are important links in the supply network and that this trade represents perhaps the most lucrative means by which townspersons exploit the State Penitentiary.

The presence of the penitentiary also represents a threat to the townsppeople, of course. The immediate community has formalized plans for dealing with escapees which include the sounding of an alarm as soon as an escape is discovered. However, other dangers present themselves due to the incomplete separation of employees from inmates. One such tragic incident occurred when an inmate attempted to force himself onto a young secretary. An older woman who was witness to the encounter

intervened in an attempt to prevent his assault and suffered a fatal heart attack in the attempt.

The presence of another large, predominantly male institution in the community has similar reciprocal ties to those found in the town-prison relationship. The National Guard post has a permanent installation on a large lake which includes vacation cottages and trailers, and thus serves as a source of recreation for those townspeople who can activate the necessary connections to avail themselves of its facilities. The guardsmen also function in certain service capacities, such as charitable ventures, to the community. However, the main impact of the military establishment is realized during the summers when large numbers of men are engaging in their mandatory summer maneuvers. These men, confined to Strawberry Junction for their summer camp, a period of from two to six weeks, must look to the town for amusement, which has important economic and social ramifications.

At \$3,376, the county per capita income is well below the state level of \$5,412 in 1974 (Table 4), in fact, seventh lowest in the state, consonant with low education levels. The largest single source of income is the government which employs greater than one-fourth of the labor of the county accounting for nearly half of the total personal income. Other identifiable sources of income are realized from manufacturing, strip mining of ilmenite used in paints, services and trade, and other private industries (Table 5).

Although nearly one-third of the land is in agricultural use, only 10 percent of the total personal income is derived from this source. The Strawberries for which the area is famous have declined dramatically in their importance due to difficulties in hiring pickers. Many of the

TABLE 4

Per Capita Income for Florida and North Central County for Selected Years, 1950-1974 (in dollars)

	<u>Florida</u>	<u>North Central County</u>
1950	\$1280	\$ 817
1960	2215	1950
1970	3738	2088
1974	5412	3376

Source: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, Florida Statistical Abstract, 1976, p. 127

TABLE 5

Personal Income: Percentage Distribution by Industry and of Labor and Proprietors Income on a Place-of-Work Basis for the State and North Central County, 1974

	<u>Florida</u>	<u>North Central County</u>
Farm	3.70	0.00
Non-Farm	96.30	100.90
Private	77.81	54.57
Manufacturing	12.57	10.78
Mining	0.43	Withheld
Construction	10.54	3.96
Wholesale and Retail Trade	19.51	22.24
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	7.00	2.56
Transportation, Communications, and Public Utilities	7.93	3.10
Services	19.22	11.32
Other Industries	0.60	Withheld
Government	18.49	46.33
Federal-Civilian	3.51	1.62
Federal-Military	3.28	1.81
State and Local	11.70	42.89

Source: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, Florida Statistical Abstract, 1976, pp. 161-164.

farmers who still grow the berries do so on the basis of opening their fields to people who will pick their own berries at a lower rate than if the fruit were bought in a market. The economic situation is illustrated by the fact that nearly 30 percent of the labor force is employed outside the county, commuting each day to nearby cities. This figure is a striking contrast to the state average of 8 percent extra-county-of-residence employment. Unemployment within the county also exceeds the state average and is disproportionately biased against women and non-whites (Figure 4).

Strawberry Junction is the site of the county's only high school to which all county residents are bused. Because many of the Strawberry Junction students are rural residents, they too are bus riders. In addition, the community has a middle school for sixth through eighth grades, two elementary schools, and a vocational-technical school (known as the Vo-Tech) which caters to regular high school students as well as adults in its variable programs. Indeed, the course offered in truck driving attracts students from the entire country and has a long waiting list for acceptance. Together, the secondary schools number a student population of approximately 2500 students.

Approximately 35 and 40 percent of males and females, respectively have completed high school out of the population aged twenty-five years and over and the literacy rate falls below the state average (see Table 6). Few students from the community continue their education into a post-secondary program as indicated in Table 7; the numbers entering higher educational institutions are less than half that on a state level. On the other hand, relatively higher percentages than found statewide are married, suggesting that early marriage may

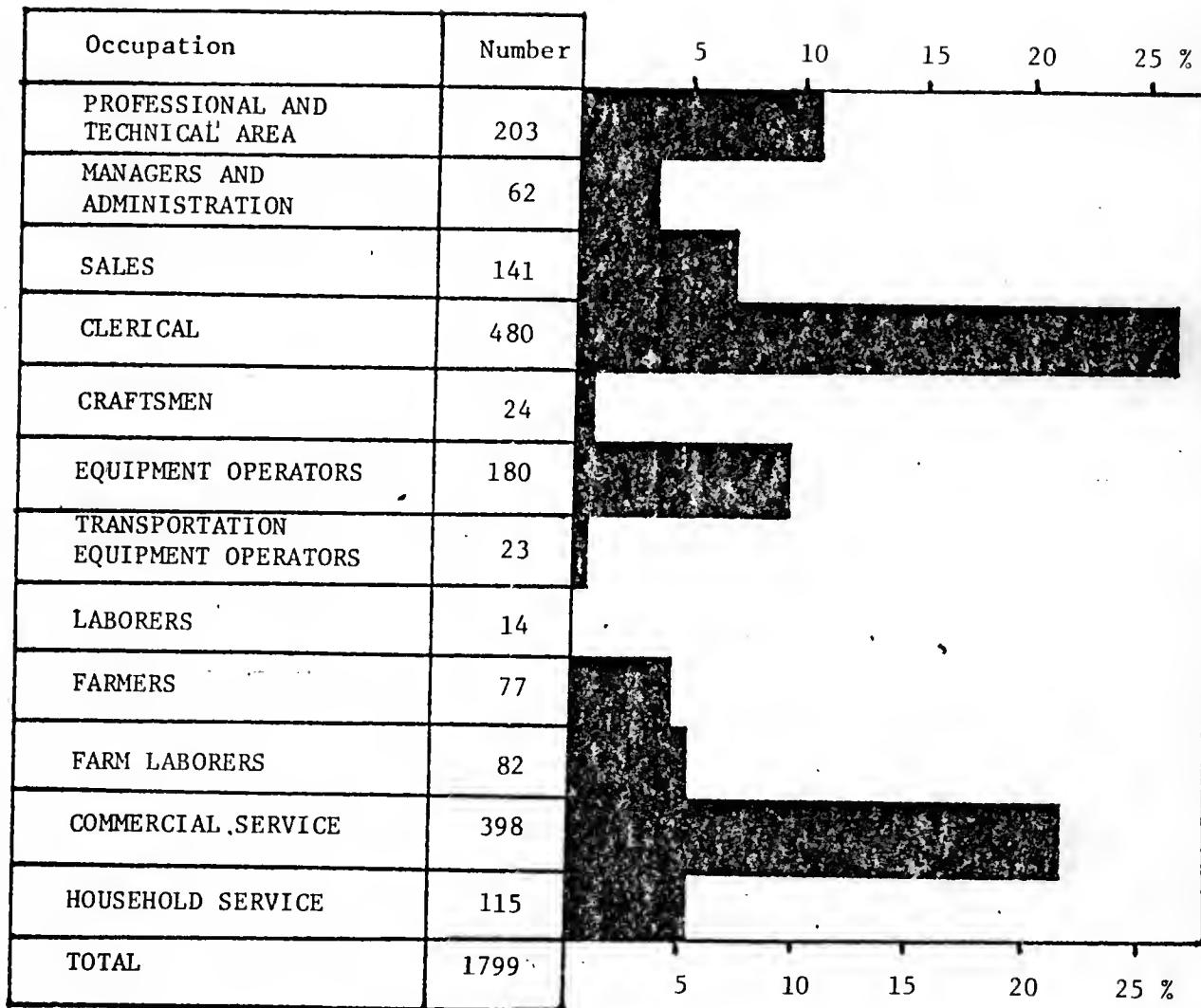


Figure 4: Women 16 Years and Over Employed in North Central County, 1970

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Florida

TABLE 6

Median Years of Education Achieved by Florida and North Central County Residents 25 Years of Age and Over, 1960-1970

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
NORTH CENTRAL COUNTY	8.4 years	10.3 years
FLORIDA	10.9 years	12.2 years

Source: Urban and Regional Development Center, University of Florida, Technical Assistance to North Central County in Developing a Land Use Plan, 1974, p. 66.

also adversely affect continuance of education, especially for women (Table 7).

The school curricula reflect the educational attributes of the community by stressing courses of study other than college preparatory. For example, the policy of the high school is stated in its annual report to parents:

Advanced courses are at a minimum at North Central County High School. This is due to several factors (1) the number of students entering college, (2) Job Entry, DCT, and Agricultural Placement and (3) the state's funding system. The latter does not provide a difference between, for example, a physics class or a general science class. We simply cannot afford programs that only meet the needs of a few.

Like most predominantly rural areas, the county can be classed as medically deprived. The majority of the available medical services are in Strawberry Junction: the county health department, 50-bed hospital and 50-bed nursing home, emergency service, and most of the physicians, who are distributed in the ratio of one physician to approximately 2500 people in the county. The level of health in the community is suspect from observing the people. The general appearance is poor, especially among children, and is a reflection of a lack of preventive care and poor dietary regimens which rely heavily on starchy foods. Many persons are obese, and most are pale with poor complexions and have sores on their faces and limbs. Gumline dental caries are common in children and babies are often listless and afflicted with runny noses. Both children and adults are often barefoot, which leaves them prey to the many infections and infestations common to warm climates.

The brunt of the medical maldistribution is particularly felt by the women of the county. Gynecological services are available from general practitioners, but there are no obstetrical services or facilities

TABLE 7

High School Graduates Entering a Post-Secondary Educational Institution
by Type of Institution in Florida and North Central County, Spring 1975
(Proportion of Total Graduates)

<u>Area</u>	<u>1975 Total Graduates</u>	<u>Community Colleges</u>	<u>Universities and Colleges</u>	<u>Technical Trade & Other</u>
FLORIDA	85,651	27.8	20.9	0.6
NORTH CENTRAL COUNTY	232	11.6	8.2	0

Source: Florida Statistical Abstract, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, 1976, p. 112.

in the county; all deliveries occur "across the lines," predominantly in one of the two closest metropolitan areas in adjacent counties linked to Strawberry Junction by the highway that is so prominent a feature of the community life. Women who are able to afford it seek care in one of these two cities, but lower income women depend upon clinical services available through a university-based program which extends its services via the mechanism of a travelling health care team which utilizes local facilities, e.g. the county health department in the case of the prenatal care and the out-of-county university hospital for deliveries (approximately thirty miles distance). Family planning services are available in the same way, i.e. privately, for those who can afford it, and by means of the university-based project for lower-income women at-risk.

The physical arrangement also impedes the delivery of health services. The railroad tracks which bisect the town run between the hospital, which includes the emergency service, and the highway which is not only a source of automobile emergencies, but also the route that must be taken to reach medical services of the sophistication required by many emergencies. If one of the many trains which run that route is occupying the track, the emergency may be seriously delayed. Many medical situations necessitate rapid transport to a hospital in another city, so this problem is a serious one which is compounded by the reliability of the emergency staff and vehicles. One of the more tragically ironic incidences occurred when one of the Emergency Medical Technicians was struck by an automobile in front of the hospital and the "unit" (ambulance) could not be started to transport him to a hospital in time to prevent his death.

TABLE 8

Marital Status of White Population Age 14 and Over
 North Central County and Florida, by Sex, 1970

<u>Marital Status</u>	North Central County		Florida	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Single	28.4	16.6	22.7	16.5
Married	63.6	66.3	69.7	63.1
Separated	1.0	1.3	1.1	1.3
Divorced	5.4	3.2	3.4	5.1
Widowed	2.7	13.9	3.1	14.0

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970
 Census of Population, General Characteristics, Florida, pp. 71-72, 179.

CHAPTER IV
THE GENERATIONS: PARALLEL LIVES

Strawberry Junction is a small community where it is quite possible, even likely, that most natives have a reasonably intimate acquaintance with their fellows. On investigation this indeed proves to be the case. The community illustrates the veracity of the cliche that in a small town there are few secrets. Everyone knows everyone else at least by sight and reputation, and in addition, can probably furnish a lineage for any particular individual complete with up-to-date on dits from their past and current "private" affairs. This can be attributed to several factors: (1) living in close contiguity with neighbors, (2) the overlappings of the kin linkages, and (3) the telephone party lines, the importance of which cannot be overrated.

This gossip chain is kept in good working order by the adult women of the community but they are by no means the only persons privy to this flow nor the only active generators of it. On numerous occasions, it was apparent that much of this accumulated knowledge of community doings belonged to a common bank which was added to by each according to his sphere of awareness. In this fashion, children and adolescents contributed pieces gleaned from school and play situations, with men and employed women adding references from the workplace, and so forth. Thus it was that almost any person of the community could serve as a reliable informant concerning certain personal details about their neighbors, particularly their place in the kinship web, occupation, religious orientation, social status, idiosyncrasies, and the like.

Despite this phenomenon, the community does not present equal opportunities for all of its members to interact according to inclination, but rather activities are for the most part restricted according to age and sex distinctions. Certainly race is also an important social divider but the following discussion is germane primarily to the white portion of the community unless otherwise specified. It is a well-known characteristic of the south that the black and white segments of a community, especially one as retrograde as Strawberry Junction, remain socially distinct to the point of representing two separate and definable mutually exclusive communities, regardless of how they may intersect in various ways. In terms of this analysis, therefore, the community which is described will in most cases by the white community. Social distinctions arising from sex roles will be discussed in the following chapter.

The segregation along age lines separates the members of the community into rough age grades according to the progression through the life cycle: infants, pre-school children, school children, adolescents, young adults, mid-life adults, and old persons. The division of adolescents from the other age grades is perhaps more clearly demarcated in terms of social interaction and through definition within the group and by outsiders than the other grades are from each other. The penalties of this restriction, although not well perceived by either adolescents or the ascending generation, have severe consequences for teenagers because they are removed from adult influence yet cut off from childhood.

According to dictionary definitions, adolescence consists of "the transition period between puberty (boyhood or girlhood) and adult

stages of development; youth. It extends from about fourteen to twenty-five years of age in man, and from twelve to twenty-one in woman" (Barnhart 1966:17), or more simply, "the period of attaining complete growth and maturity" (Stedman 1976:27). These definitions offer some latitude in assigning young people to the category of adolescence but the term is more often used synonymously with the teenage years.

Definition of adolescence is compounded by the legal assignment of responsibility, i.e. different ages at which, according to state law, one can or must assume adult responsibilities. At the time of this research, the legal age for drinking and voting was twenty-one, the legal age for obtaining a driver's license was sixteen, the legal age for marriage with parental consent was sixteen for women and eighteen for men, the age of consent for sexual relations was eighteen, and persons could be tried as an adult for criminal offenses at seventeen. For heuristic purposes, adolescents discussed in this study were defined as teenagers.

The theme of adolescence is at the forefront of social concerns even among other timely and possibly more pressing contemporary issues. Young people are of special interest to demographers especially as their proportions of the total population in developing countries is increasing, skewing the population and creating unique problems in the context of world history. For example, in 1971, 50 percent of the population of India was less than twenty years of age, with adolescents accounting for about one-fifth of the total (Visnaria and Jain 1976:13). In the United States in 1975, an estimated 35 percent of the population was less than twenty years and 14 percent fell within the age range from thirteen to nineteen years (USDHEW 1977:135). Due to falling

birth rates in this country, unlike developing countries, the proportion of adolescents has declined slightly over the last decade and is expected to continue this downward trend.

"The American way of life has been characterized, and caricatured too, as child-centered to an extreme degree. Visitors from abroad have been known to observe that the vaunted American democracy is in fact a pedocracy, and that the most surprising fact of American life is the way parents obey their children" (Goodman 1970:1). This focus on children perhaps reaches its fullest expression in the preoccupation with the adolescent phase of the life cycle which is a relatively recent and peculiarly American-flavored phenomenon:

The cultural recognition of adolescence is a by-product of the Industrial Revolution. Prior to that there had been no need to provide a hiatus category to deal with the individual who was biologically no longer a child but not yet ready for induction into adult roles, particularly occupational roles. (Hamburg and Hamburg 1975:93)

The concept of adolescence was virtually nonexistent until the final two decades of the nineteenth century and could be thought of almost as an invention of the period (Demos and Demos 1969). The changes brought about through industrialization affected social patterns including family roles and lifestyle which allowed adolescence to achieve its separateness from both childhood and adulthood, phases which also became more distinct by contrast.

The changing emphasis from farming to industrial manufacturing was responsible for shifts in population dispersion from rural to urban settings. The early part of the twentieth century implemented restrictive legislation concerning child labor and compulsory education laws raising the age for mandatory school attendance. Declines in both fertility and mortality allowed parents to survive not only the

childbearing years but also the childrearing years, thus experiencing the "empty nest" syndrome (Jordan 1976) and embarking on old age. "The glorification of youth and the denigration of old age are both aspects of the growing segregation of different stages of life--and of their corresponding age groups" (Harenen 1976:25).

It is these alterations in the continuum of the generations that have been attributed as allowing child-focus to develop in American society (Demos and Demos 1969, Hamburg and Hamburg 1975; Jordan 1976). Traditionally, life roles were learned gradually while the child observed parents and other adults of the extended family or community in the routine performance. As the child matured, more responsibility would be extended according to the child's ability. In this way, childhood was apprenticeship for adult life.

With industrialization, family processes metamorphosed: the transition from child to adult was no longer gradual and children and adults evolved separate and mutually more exclusive routines and habitats. By 1900, the trend was well established. Social and economic change was widespread. Disparity between the generations was assumed to be a fact of life, becoming "...part of the national mythology" (Demos and Demos 1969:638), and Americans began to express deep concern about the growth of peer group influence.

As pedocentric families emerged, American society became not only "peer-oriented," but "expert-oriented" (Goodman 1970). The vast literature devoted to child-rearing advice extant today was rare in the United States during the early nineteenth century. Books by American authors began to appear around 1825 along with a new variety of magazine, e.g. "Mother's Magazine," devoted to the interests of childrearers.

Cookbooks were an earlier source of advice about the care of children. Unlike modern specialized cookbooks, these books contained useful information about all matters pertaining to the household and not merely recipes, and often, in company with the family bible, represented the complete family library. Antedating the childrearing guides which began appearing at the quarter century, the advice rendered in these volumes most often consisted of care and feeding of infants and children rather than emphasizing parenting principles, as in the following examples from an early cookbook:

Baby's first bath should be preceded by a generous application of pure, sweet olive oil, from head to foot, in every little crevice and corner of his outer man.

Great care should be given that children are not fed with milk that has been turned by a thunderstorm. The chemical change is rapid, and extra caution is necessary.

Give a nourishing diet to a pale, white-looking delicate child.

Jumping the rope is an injurious and dangerous amusement, often resulting in diseases of the spine and brain.
(Anonymous 1880:461-465)

Demos and Demos (1969) attribute the emergence of a literature on childrearing to the burgeoning interest in childhood as a separate period discernible from succeeding life stages; a sense of nationalism and need to develop a distinct American method of childrearing rather than continuing to rely on European, particularly British, thought; and an anxiety about the quality of American family life. The major concern of this growing childrearing literature centered on the question of authority--an issue as yet unresolved, viz. the undulating preferences for permissiveness or strictness that have assailed American parents for generations. Even the latter day saint of parents, Dr. Spock,

has undergone some radical philosophical changes over the multiple editions of Baby and Child Care (1970).

Books aimed toward youth rapidly found a market. The tenor of these was to provide the young reader with a guide to proper deportment simple rules of health, and a Christian outlook. Margaret Coxe's Young Lady's Companion was typical of the genre, pontificating through a series of letters on such topics as intellectual and moral discipline, formation of habits, government of the passions and appetites, behavior to domestics, and so forth. That the aim of the Young Lady's Companion and other books of its ilk was to prepare young girls for their social roles as wives is evident. The section devoted to the explanation of natural science to young ladies reads thusly:

The subjects which are included under the subdivision of natural science...are numerous, but as they will not be likely to engage your attention, or will not be of much practical importance to a young female, I shall pass over it without attempting to enter into detail.(1840:149)

As it might be expected, little practical information about the most intimate aspects of the marriage role could be found in these books. Even the description of the class mammalia in the natural history section is a masterpiece of circumlocution: "All mammiferous animals...possess lungs, and peculiar facilities for obtaining nourishment during infancy" (Coxe 1840:155) [emphasis added].

This is in contrast to the much more straightforward manuals which spread throughout England and the American colonies during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, the so-called Aristotle manuals, which were drawn eclectically from the writings of the Greek philosopher, folklore, legends, and some medical knowledge relating to sexual congress.

Although not produced specifically for the young person, much of the advice concerned the sexual novice and the newly married. Sex was regarded as healthy, natural and desirable:

The inclinations of virgins for marriage became evident soon after the flow of natural purgations at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Then the blood ceased to serve the development of their bodies and turned instead to stir up their minds to venery....manuals thus encouraged early marriages to prevent disorders resulting from the unnatural confinement of the seed in the male and female.(Haller and Haller 1974:94-5)

The prevailing mode of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was set by the purity literature, such as the Young Lady's Companion, which offered girls little concrete information, much apprehension, and a denial of feminine sexuality:

Young girls were to avoid the hazards of early marriage. Premature love robbed the nerve and brain of their natural needs and blighted the organs of sex...for girls to 'rush into the hymenal embrace'...would only exhaust the love powers, and precipitate disease and an early grave...the healthy male could live until marriage without the loss of a single drop of seminal fluid...the man who married earlier [than 25 years] might well arrest the growth of his body, weaken his system, and fall prey to disease and premature aging...children born of early unions...seldom reached the age of manhood, and old age was out of the question (Haller and Haller 1974:110,201,225).

Although youth was recognized as a formative, transitional phase during the 1800's, attention was drawn to the special problems of this life stage at the turn of the century, when the work of psychologist Stanley G. Hall made the term "adolescence" a byword. In 1904, Hall's research culminated in his opus, Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Religion and Education.

Influenced by Barwin, Hall created an evolutionary model of recapitulation whereby individuals live through the evolutionary stages of their race. According to the model, adolescence recapitulated the

"...most recent of man's great developmental leaps" (Demos and Demos 1969:635). Under the influence of Hall, adolescence has continued to receive much attention from social scientists, chiefly psychologists and sociologists, and from the lay audience as well. This segment of the life cycle has most often been regarded as either a period of relatively transient deviance, as in the plethora of delinquency studies, or alternatively, as a period of psychological self-seeking--a time of narcissistic introspection and rebellion against observed role-styles of the parent generation and the abandoned childhood. The perceived growth of peer group influence and its supposed role in the social socialization of teens, combined with the rapid and bewildering socio-technological changes of the last century, resulted in the rather paranoid concept of the generation gap. Mead's landmark inquiry into the nature of adolescence, Coming of Age in Samoa (1928), sought to elucidate the question of the universality of the generation gap by comparing Samoan youth to American youth. Her research pointed to the culture-bound concepts of adolescence found in the literature of the time. Her study of Samoan girls revealed that "...adolescence represented no period of crisis or stress, but was instead an orderly developing of a set of slowly maturing interests and activities" (1928:120). While most societies amplify one or another point in the life cycle, adolescence is by no means universally accorded significance, but is often incorporated by raising the child phase or lowering the adult phase (Linton 1942). Nevertheless, by far the bulk of literature dealing with adolescence is formulated according to the American pattern (e.g. Yankelowich 1974) rather than on cross-cultural principles (Goodman 1970).

By and large, anthropological treatments relate adolescence to the socialization process, e.g. cross-cultural variations on the theme of how one becomes to be a full member of one's society, or as one of a series of transitional motifs, e.g. what is the nature and function of rites de passage. North American examples include studies of blacks (Dougherty 1978, Liebow 1967, Hannerz 1969), American Indians (Hoebel 1960), and white or "ethnic" Americans (Henry 1963, Graebner 1915).

Adolescents began to be recognized as a legitimate health population early in the 1960's, by virtue of their specialized characteristics and needs. Nevertheless, the real significance and impact of this group in terms of health effects is perhaps only now being realized. Millar (1975) classifies the adolescent population as medically underserved regardless of the physician:population ratio or economic status and cites the following as contributing to minimal attention of the medical community to adolescent problems. First, adolescents are essentially a healthy group with relatively few demands for services other than emergency services. Their need for services is reduced in that most congenital anomalies have been detected and treated by the time adolescence is reached and degenerative disease will not affect this age group significantly, and immunity to infectious disease has been built. Thus, adolescents generally don't seek health care between the last visit to a pediatrician, usually at about twelve years of age, and adulthood, e.g. college or military physicians, pre-marital exams.

Second, physicians and other medical caregivers may have difficulty in establishing rapport with young people. Often they may find it difficult to cope with problems associated with adolescents' relative unconventional life styles.

Third, financial barriers exist to health care, particularly clinics, as adolescents rarely control their own finances and medical insurance. The need for privacy may cause adolescents' reluctance to disclose need for money.

Last, adolescents are frequently isolated from appropriate care settings. They have outgrown the pediatrician but may have difficulty in adult oriented settings, such as hospitals. The movement of the last decade toward establishing teen clinics, especially for family planning, may be a viable alternative.

Many of the special health problems of adolescents are the result of their incomplete maturation and the dis-synchronization of the physical and socio-emotional maturation processes. Puberty, the transition to fertility, should precede adolescence, the "period when social, psychological, and cognitive maturation takes place" (Millar 1975:6).

Pubertal changes in terms of primary and secondary sex characteristics occur differently and at different rates for boys and girls. Girls generally gain their full height early in the genital development of puberty and boys usually complete their sexual maturation before achieving their adult form; hence, visual cues may be misleading. Mood swings, acne, and fat deposition can accompany hormonal activity during pubertal development presenting adolescents with their most onerous health problems.

Adolescence is well marked in many societies, particularly traditional societies. We have excellent descriptions of the rites de passage associated with the physical manifestation of onset of womanhood for girls, i.e. menarche, (Krig and Krig 1943, Radcliffe-Brown, 1922).

Female passage into adulthood may also be accomplished through childbirth (Dougherty 1978). The process for males also often includes a physical trial or ritual mutilation such as circumcision, subincision, or scarification (Hogbin 1976). In American society, these transitions are not as clearly marked. Among Jews, the Bar Mitzvah signifies that the boy has become a man but as this takes place at thirteen, the significance may be lessened as other hallmarks of adulthood will occur considerably later.

In this culture, the educational chronology must be the primary means of assigning status, e.g. high school graduation is considered the most significant rite of passage by many. While this is a significant ritual, college graduation may be more critical to those students who continue their education, thus delaying their emergence into the "real world" and prolonging the length of parental dependency. The problem is confounded in considering high-school dropouts (Is the first job the major rite of passage?) and college students who live separately from their parents but still maintain a quasi-dependency relationship (Will they identify themselves as adults or school-children?).

In Strawberry Junction, adolescence is conducted as a parallel existence to the adult world. Young people coexist with those above and below them in age but intersect with them infrequently and only under certain circumstances. Their insulation from the larger community is maintained consciously and can be discussed in terms of intergenerational relations, use of space, and ritual.

The shrinking consciousness of adolescent insularity struck me as a result of an encounter with a young girl. I had taken several girls to a dance and, following their customary pattern, much of our

time was spent outside the building in which the dance was held. My companions were girls in their early teens but all were taller than I and we were dressed in a similar fashion in jeans. We were standing around outside in the parking lot when a new girl was hailed and moved to join the group. She was smoking a cigarette and bandying round some rarified jargon when suddenly she looked closely at me and said, "Oh, shit--are you a lady?" When I laughed and made some noncommittal reply, she said, "No, I mean how old are you?" I answered and she immediately began to act nervously and started to throw her cigarette away when my friends assured her that I was "....okay--just like one of us. You can trust her!"

Adolescents maintain their separation from the larger community carefully. Although they are residents in the same community as the adult denizens, they occupy the territory differently, utilizing the time dimension to maintain their parallel existence (cf Melbin 1978). During the day, adolescents are in schools--the middle school, high school or vocational-technical school. They occupy their space as if defending it against invaders. The three schools are located on contiguous plots of land allowing a high flow of students between their respective grounds. The students at the vocational school, which includes adult students, might be expected to have a greater degree of freedom than in the other schools yet a visitor to the high school will observe a good many students milling around in the grounds and loitering in the halls, perhaps sitting around in groups smoking. Most noticeable are students, often couples, sitting in the cars parked on the perimeter roads. These adolescents look upon an adult visitor to the school with mild interest, perhaps hostility or derision, and often

will offer a challenge in the fashion of a sentry. Teachers report that their cars are often targets for pranksters, e.g. upon leaving school they will find their car turned upside down or with the tires deflated.

Although the young people of the community regard the school as their sanctum sanctorum, many refuse to be confined to its locale by the dictates of the school authorities. Skipping school is rampant. The extent of the problem is revealed in a letter written by a high school junior to the school board:

... there is a crowd of kids that are always seen at the auditorium without being in class. I can't seem to see that this is alright for kids to skip. I am quite strongly against kids skipping especially when they stay around school. It seems to me that the School Board could do something about these kids. The Board should have a meeting about these kids who skip, but no one seems to care about them hanging around the school. To me this skipping problem is bigger than the new trash cans and fence the school board wants. If they would stop some of this skipping we might not need a fence. [See Appendix 1].

The school Board had deliberated on the problem of skipping and had decided to attempt to confine students to their respective campuses by building a chain link fence around the high school. Money had been allotted to build the fence during the summer for the coming school year. The issue of the fence created a furor among the students. The girls were mostly amused and the boys insulted. Bets were being placed on how long the fence would stand and which boy would pull it down with his truck. The field research period terminated before the issue was resolved.

Behavior at school is used to distinguish between major classes among the high school girls. Two distinct crowds are so defined: the bathroom group and the MacDonald's group. The bathroom is the focal point for social gatherings involving three related activities, gossip, smoking,

and skipping class. Girls in the bathroom group are described by their peers as the lower-class, "low-life" element of the school and are believed to be faster and tougher than the MacDonald's crowd. Smoking automatically assigns a girl to this group as the bathroom is the best place for smokers to gather, especially during classes.

MacDonald's, a fast food restaurant about a mile from the high school, attracts the seniors who have open campus privileges at lunch time. Other students are restricted to campus but often accompany their friends among the seniors in defiance of the rules. Theoretically, seniors can get into trouble for taking lower classmen off campus but the MacDonald's crowd assess the risk as minimal. A lower classman said, "If the school really wanted to catch people, they'd have someone watching at MacDonald's." This crowd is made up of the ones who "never go to the bathroom unless they have to go to the bathroom." These girls have more money to spend than the bathroom group and have the added advantage of transportation to skip class off campus. Some mobility exists between the groups for on-the-fencers who are neither poor nor well-to-do or fast or prudish.

Apart from these limited forays away from the school, the adolescents are little in evidence in the town during the days nor are they at home, these being the adult diurnal domains. At night, the situation reverses and adolescents occupy the town. The most prominent aspect of this turnover is, of course, the nightly paseo around the town. The trucks and cars full of teens calling to each other and "showin' out" circle the familiar routes far into the night. Adults have now largely absented themselves from the scene. If present in town, they are indoors in one of the several small bars, the "jukes," which are closed to the younger diversion seekers.

Opportunities for adolescents to interact with adults are not plentiful. During these social occasions that attract persons across generations, e.g. church affairs and sports events, the generational groupings tend to maintain their integrity. A spectator aspect is apparent during some of these events where adolescents and adults are both present but real interaction seldom takes place. For example, at church family night socials adolescent girls are responsible for serving the supper and parents may entertain by putting on skits but social interaction can be observed to occur most frequently within age groups.

Adolescents are not abundantly found in the work force. While the fast food restaurants employ a few, the area cannot support a great many occupational opportunities and these appear to be reserved for those persons who have seriously begun to earn their livings. Thus older adolescents, e.g. 18 and 19 year olds may be employed but if so acquire the attributes of adults, losing their liminal status. Farm youths may work in agricultural pursuits along with the adults in the family but young people of the town report that they are freed from major responsibilities of the household. Therefore, interaction with adults is not derived from work settings any more frequently than from social occasions.

Isolated incidents account for cross-generational mixing. The summer softball program mixes persons as young as 15 years old with adults and through the vehicle of the game the usual status barriers to interaction are relaxed. Certain community programs, e.g. scouting, agriculture-oriented clubs, the Roping Club, also present opportunities for inter-generational exchange.

Although adolescents prefer to preserve many of their social activities for peer relations, there is evidence supporting the desire of young persons for more substantial contacts with adults. Teachers and

guidance counselors reported that it is not uncommon for their students to attempt to confide in them and relate many incidents of students, much to their embarrassment, calling their teachers "momma." The experience of other adults whose activities bring them into the adolescent orbit echoes the findings from the school. As a researcher, I had no difficulty in gaining the friendship of young girls and found them eager to discuss many topics of concern with someone having broader experience. Parents do not act as confidants to their maturing children, especially in respect to sexual matters, despite the occasional urgings of those children.

Adults have abdicated their responsibilities in other ways. Although southern rural society has many parallels to the Latin American role system, it lacks an essential ingredient--chaperonage. In Strawberry Junction, adults do not involve themselves very intensely in the social affairs of the community's young people. Children and adolescents are largely ignored after their basic needs have been attended to. The high school has a parent advisory committee which is selected by a class during their last year of attendance at the middle school and which sees the class through to graduation. Its function is to organize the class social events. The intensity of the committee members' personal relations to class members is variable according to the four parents chosen, but is seldom very active. Chaperones at dances and other functions are cavalier about the obvious drinking, taking action only when a young man is too boisterously drunk to ignore, and do not appear concerned at which might be considered inappropriate age mixing. They do not confine events to adolescents but allow much older men to attend dances which include quite young girls.

Parents are quite outspoken about raising their children in a small town rather than in a "wicked big city" such as the moderately-sized university community nearby where they believe sin is rife, but shun the obvious advantages of a small community, i.e. social control. While it is true that adolescents are known by sight to the community adults, their behavior is not well-monitored, despite gossip links, and teenagers have a degree of autonomy that is not accorded during other life phases. Even adults do not have their degree of freedom and relative invisibility, subject as adults are to public censure in cases of non-conformist behavior.

Adolescence is ill-defined in terms of beginning and ending rites de passage. Ascending into the middle school, grades six, seven, and eight, is accepted as marking the beginning of adolescence, but no real ceremony is attached to finishing elementary school. Girls may mark their new status by acquiring "adolescent privileges": make-up, leg shaving, heeled shoes, and permission to date. Although isolated incidents of adult male-attended celebrations of menarche have been reported, this custom is not believed to be the usual case.

Because the community hierarchy is defined in part by possession of a vehicle, preferably a truck, the acquisition of a driver's license is an important mark of maturity. Adolescents may legally begin driving at 14 as a learner accompanied by a licensed driver, but the nature of the agricultural demands have required many to learn earlier. Hence, police do not strictly enforce the law and it is common to see quite young persons driving in the town and rural surroundings.

The end of adolescence is marked in several ways. Graduation from high school is well-accepted as a ritual entrance to adulthood and is marked by ceremonials. The beginning of real work is more important for

men and high-school drop-outs but is not usually accompanied by ritual observance. Marriage is another means of acquiring adult status and its ritual accompaniment is often quite lavish according to community standards. However, this is not the case for pregnancy-initiated marriages, which are usually conducted quickly and with little ceremony. This is partly punitive for while marriage is the socially approved remedy for this ill, early sexual relations and precocious pregnancies are frowned upon by adults as inappropriate behavior and some of the perquisites attendant upon marriage, especially for the bride, are withdrawn. In addition, these forced marriages often involve young persons whose motives will be suspect. Moreover, the parents may not approve of the choice of partner and additionally may be ill-prepared to launch an elaborate ceremony within the constraints of time and money.

CHAPTER V
SEX ROLES: MALE AND FEMALE

Societies organize and classify members in various ways, some of which are so common as to be universal, such as age and sex categories (Linton 1942). Sex acts as a master status, channeling persons into particular roles and determining the quality of interaction with others (Gove 1973). "Assigning people at birth to categories based on some concept of gender appears to be universal and, as far as we know, is always through a genital inspection (Kessler and McKenna 1978:36).

However, researchers are now beginning to realize that gender identity is more than can be described by a physical configuration (Money and Ehrhardt 1972, Oakley 1972), and that much of an individual's personal ideology and behavior set is governed by sex identity and the rules by which society defines the role appropriate to each. Thus, gender may be said to be culturally determined albeit following anatomical recruitment into the two categories in all but a few instances in which transsexualism occurs. These social anomalies are delivered from their dilemma by the surgeon's knife in our enlightened times although through history and in traditional societies a life gender reassignment was accomplished in terms of the social role and not the anatomy, as in the case of the Plains Indian berdache (Horbel 1960).

The distinctness of the sexes is a question which has puzzled researchers, representing a variant of the nature-nurture controversy. No society has been known where the sexes participate as equals with equal responsibilities and rewards, rather there is always a division of

labor and of the fruits of that labor along sex lines (Brown).

The extent to which the differences result from innate biological differences from the socialization process remains an enigma despite the explanations of these differences in each culture.

Mead (1935) attempted to inquire into the nature of the relationship of sex to temperament by comparing three primitive groups in New Guinea, the Arapesh, the Mundugumor, and the Tchambuli. She discovered that masculine and feminine characteristics as we define them, are not attributable to fundamental biological differences, but reflect the cultural conditioning of different societies:

...the temperaments which we regard as native to one sex might instead be mere variations of human temperament, to which the members of either or both sexes may, with more or less success in the case of different individuals, be educated to approximate. (1935:xiv)

Although inquiry into innate sex differences continues (e.g. Montemayor 1978), the prevailing view appears to have become that "...we cannot say definitely what characteristics are fundamentally (or innately, or unalterably) female, nor can we separate these from those that are culturally conditioned" (Laws 1970:39). The scientific definition of gender may be analogous to the definition of death--neither life-death nor male-female may be non-dichotomous (Kessler and McKenna 1978). "Secondary sex differences in aptitude and temperament are still in good measure a matter of speculation. There are still aspects which seem more likely to be related to cultural conditioning and it is preferable to assume at this point in our understanding that differences between men and women in these respects reflect primarily differential exposure and training" (Ford 1970:28).

Nevertheless, the gender, or sex role system is important in that it is the set of arrangements by which society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity (Rubin 1975) and thereby defines the relations between its members. Chetwynd and Hartnett (1978) describes the sex role system as based on three principles. First, definable and mutually exclusive personality trait sets must exist. Second, there is a division of labor or activities by sex. Third, the male sphere is invested with a higher value than the female.

The appropriate sex role behavior is largely acquired through socialization. The differences in the socialization process for boys and girls account for the divergence of the adult roles of adult men and women. Again, the socialization process derives not from biological imperatives but rather "...sex roles and their socialization reflect people's often unfounded beliefs about what sex differences are or should be" (Weinreich 1978:18).

Weinreich continues by revealing the process by which socialization into sex roles occurs. Skills, habits and some types of behavior are learned as a consequence of a system of rewards and punishments, e.g. a little girl who keeps her party dress clean is told how pretty she looks and how, by her behavior, she is quite the young lady. Parents and others provide models of appropriate role behavior which the child imitates. Eventually, the child identifies with one parent and internalizes the roles, seeking to structure relationships with others in accordance with what has been learned.

Socialization into sex roles is a continuing process as behavior expectations are altered drastically during the life cycle advance, particularly as regards the expression of sexuality and exercise of

power and authority. For example, many cultures allow a much greater license in terms of sexual repartee to post-menopausal women than to young women for whom the open expression of sexuality may bring about quite different consequences. Thus, after the initial influence of the family, experience with peers and observations of the ascending generation becomes important in achieving each new stage in the changing sex role.

Rosaldo (1974) proposes that because women are primarily engaged in domestic activities, with their focus on the home and rearing of children, the training of their daughters to be mothers is a continuous process and different from the training of sons. The girl is better able to visualize her role as she observes her mother in the home, but the young boy must learn to become a man because the male role is not visible. Therefore, "...when his sister is learning 'to be a mother,' he is apt to be restless and assertive and to seek out horizontal ties with male peers" (1974:25). Girls are more likely to form ties with their senior female kin and thus become integrated vertically into the adult world of work; but boys are more likely to form horizontal, cross-cutting ties with peers.

Further, young girls' development proceeds without conflict in a group which does not challenge her membership. To Rosaldo, womanhood is an ascribed status and manhood is an achieved status. A woman's status is defined by the life cycle, through maturing, rather than by means of ability or achievement. Male status is achieved, especially in terms of the peer group which requires "proof," that is, "a woman's status comes 'naturally' (and even in societies that practice female initiation these ceremonies appear to be more a celebration of natural,

biological developments than a 'proof' of femininity or a challenge to past ties), whereas 'becoming a man' is a feat" (1974:26).

Educational institutions are significant influencers of the sex role specialization process. Schools have official and "hidden" curricula which shape sex role formation. The hidden curriculum is sex-differentiated, resistant to change, and influentially pervasive. The effect is to "...depress girls' achievements and aspirations, and cause them to have a lower estimate of their ability than boys of equal ability" (Lobban 1978:50)

Aspects of the hidden curriculum include the sex composition of the staff hierarchy. More principals are male but most teachers are female, especially in the elementary schools, and the remainder of the staff in a subordinate position, e.g. aides, cafeteria workers, secretaries, are also ordinarily female, thus associating males with power and dominance over subservient females. Teaching materials are often sexist, depicting men as actors and women as passive. Teachers tend to endorse traditional values with respect to sex roles and in classroom interactions teachers of both sexes have been found to focus more attention and affect on boys than girls (Lobban 1978).

Sex role differentiation persists throughout the educational process. Even at university different rules obtain for men and women. Career counseling differs for each, participation in university activities differs, e.g. athletics, and until recently college women were subject to curfew regulations not applicable to men. The message that is learned is that "...male, as opposed to female, activities are always recognized as predominantly important, and cultural systems give authority and value to the roles and activities of men" (Rosaldo 1974:19).

The stereotypical woman is often defined in terms of, or in relation to other persons (Chodorow 1974). The heritage of Freudian thought based upon the passive role of women in the sex act, "...is an elaboration of the cluster of traits which define the essential feminine: submissiveness, dependence, docility, masochism, narcissism, and above all, passivity (Laws 1979:40-41). Although Freudian personality constructs have been challenged by recent research on human sexual response and the experience-based assertions of feminists, the stereotype is still strongly reinforced by the media:

In the visual media, women are presented as primarily decorative and dependent on males, often simply as status-enhancing sex objects...women are housebound and exclusively preoccupied with domestic materialism and personal adornment. They are...passive and lacking in initiative and...concerned with fantasy rather than expertise or problem-seeking. (Weinreich 1978:21)

A woman's identity is closely tied to her body image. As our culture equates femininity with attractiveness, thus women spend a great deal of time grooming themselves to please men and compete with other women. The counter productive nature of this pursuit has been well-documented by the experience of unhappy, perhaps self-destructive women who have become successful sex objects but who have not been able to transcend the symbolism of their being. It is an unfortunate paradox that what society labels as the ultimate in womanhood is seen as a mockery by the person. Physical desirability produces other role incongruities. Women are expected to appear sexually appealing, yet at the same time hold themselves off from male sexual aggression.

Marriage is not only a socially desirable goal but is the mark of personal success for women. Girls are motivated to strive for this goal by their families and peers and are bombarded with the notion by the media.

"A considerable amount of advertising effort goes into persuading girls that the happiest day of their lives is their wedding day" (Weinreich 1978:21).

Motherhood, however, is the sine qua non of the woman's role. All women are presumed at some level to desire children and feel "unfulfilled" without them. Despite ethnographic evidence documenting widespread historical and contemporary practices of contraception, abortion, infanticide, desertion of children, and other counter-maternal practices (e.g. Devereaux 1955, Ford 1945, Himes 1963, Mulhare 1969, Nag 1962, Newman 1972), the "real" woman is still a mother first. Additions to that role must be of secondary priority.

Women are seldom portrayed as having multi-dimensional roles as are men. The examples of women who opt for work in addition to marriage are presented by the media as primarily marriage-oriented. Either job success is equated with marital unsuccess, or women are seen as primarily committed to their marriage, and thus their husband's career, and only peripherally committed to their own work. When women seek success in other ways than their relation to a man, they are often viewed as unwomanly. "Whereas men achieve rank as a result of explicit achievement, differences among women are generally seen as the product of idiosyncratic characteristics such as temperament, personality and appearance" (Rosaldo 1974:29). Because of the covert values of society, women may fear achievement and success to the point where they undermine their own potential, thus relegating themselves to a more "safe" and familiar role.

The male sex role, being the dominant one in the sex role system, has played a significant part in shaping American values, and perhaps, like the fabled rib, has also animated the role which women must fit.

David and Brannon (1976) have elaborated on this concept and isolated four themes underlying the male role in American society.

The first variant they call "no sissy stuff." Parents express more concern in assuring that boys conform to their role expectations than girls to the feminine role. Girls have more initial role flexibility in that it is relatively acceptable for little girls to go through a boy-like phase but there is no acceptable counterpart to being a tomboy for boys. Boys who prefer "feminine" activities and emotional expression are labelled sissies and ridiculed for their proclivities. Because of the severe social sanctions attached to appearing unmasculine, men fear and may be hostile to feminine traits. These feelings may be extended to their attitudes toward women to the extent that women, not being the valued and understood physical and emotional configuration, may be regarded as less than full human beings like men (Brownmiller 1975, Chesler 1978).

Men may be suspicious of women and find them impossible to understand because of their anatomy and mysterious functioning (Paz 1961). Women have traditionally been regarded as a source of pollution and relations with them form the *raison d'etre* of rituals guarding against defilement. Women often are viewed by men as sexually rapacious and capable of sapping men's vitality and disrupting their fraternal solidarity. The ultimate offense of course, usurping the male role, was articulated by Freud as stemming from penis envy, thus part of male fear of women is expressed as castration fear.

Fear of women, analogous to blacks, may also be generated by the prevailing male dominant social hierarchy in that "...guilt may be felt towards those who occupy low status positions in a social system and..

this may lead to their being unrealistically feared" (Harper 1969:81).

Men of the "no sissy stuff" type both fear and loathe homosexuals and probably harbor uneasy feelings about their personal sexual stance. Homosexuals may be persecuted to allay these fears and certainly men attempt to eradicate any tell-tale signs in this direction in themselves, hence avoidance of any "feminine" traits such as emotionalism. Such men reveal little of themselves to others, especially other men, feeling that "revealing yourself to man can be dangerous" (David and Brannon 1976:17). In view of the current public nature of transsexual surgery, it would be interesting to discover if feelings towards homosexuals are carried over to male-to-female transsexuals.

The second theme is the "big wheel." Men of this stamp need the visible accoutrements of success: car, clothes, and other adult high status toys. Central to the identification as a man is the need to appear competent and knowledgeable and be expert in some facet of the male world. Competition is rife among men and the need to view himself and have others also regard him as an important influence in his sphere is a powerful motivating force.

The "sturdy oak" is the third element. This aspect of masculine behavior flowers in the type often depicted in fiction, e.g. the Virginian, and also seen on the screen a la the late John Wayne--strong, silent, "cool," and exhibiting athletic prowess. This is the hero whose strength can be expected to prevail in any given situation, and whom others depend to see them through. The "sturdy oak" suffers in silence sans an unmanly display of feeling. The need to feel like a protector has been decried by feminists as contributing to the prevention of women's becoming self-sufficient.

The last theme is characterized by "give 'em hell," and refers to the thread of violence that pervades masculine action and perhaps, motivation. Certainly it would be difficult to overstate the influence of violence as a male motif:

...violence is to some extent a Southern and Western ideal more than Northeastern, and more typically working class than middle class, but it has deep roots in the general American experience. Support for the social use of violence (e.g., police using clubs and guns to stop student demonstrations) are highest in the South and Border States, lowest in the Middle Atlantic and New England States, highest among the least educated, and lowest for those with graduate degrees; highest among Fundamentalist Protestants and lowest among Jews. (Blumenthal in David and Brannon 1976:30).

Violence is not only an indicator of masculinity in the adult but serves as a means of initiation for the boys. The athletic field is probably the major testing ground for incipient masculinity. While aggressiveness is functional as a life style to a degree, the ever-present danger is that the violent undercurrents will act as socially dysfunctional displays leading to rape, sadism, bestiality, child abuse and wife battering. Indeed, violence may be construed as being a central theme of southern culture, and while not confined to adult males, or even males, it finds its fullest expression in the masculine world. Striking similarities to the Latin American masculine domain may be found in southern manhood, particularly in the subset identified as "redneck."

Males and females have opposing and fairly complementary roles in southern society and their polarity can be readily seen in Strawberry Junction. Male and female roles are rather rigidly defined in accordance with traditional interpretations of masculinity and femininity, i.e. a hierachial system predicated upon male supremacy/dominance and its complementary female subordination/submissiveness.

The ideal for masculinity is analogous to the Latin American manifestation of hyper-maleness described as machismo with the feminine role realizing certain similarities to the marianismo Latin American feminine complex, but representing a pale copy relative to the male.

Male and female role structures affect both the interpretation and the manifestation of sexual activity and can readily be seen as functionally related. In order to assess the relevance of role configurations to activities within the sexual sphere, male and female roles will be examined in comparison with the Latin American models, and as contrapuntal to each other in terms of the social realms in which they find expression and as unfolded in the life cycle.

The machismo/marianismo complex of gender traits has been identified and well described in Latin America (e.g. Fromm and Maccoby 1970, Mulhare 1969, Paz 1961, Stevens 1973, and Williamson 1970), but represents a behavioral genre which is more widespread. The macho variant is particularly prevalent in the rural south, and the feminine role is shaped in reaction to it, although not in a way which approximates the Latin woman's role as closely as the southern male role follows the macho cast.

The machismo complex manifests itself as a heightened virility, an exaltation of masculinity which can only be achieved in contrast to its polar opposite, femininity. Its development may be traced to the dispersal of the Spanish-Moorish culture traits, which included a decidedly patriarchal and hierarchical social structure, into the New World via the conquistadores. The superiority of the male status was "accentuated with the newly acquired status of the conqueror" (Williamson 1970:179). The role models and values imposed by Catholicism

further distinguish behavior appropriate to the sexes and designate the male as the superior of the two. The church supports male dominion over property including women, and fosters the moral double standard.

The male prerogative demands that the superiority of his sex must be overtly displayed by actions that are lusty and aggressive. Sexual imperatives figure largely in the definition of masculinity, thus the male role model describes the direction of the sex drive that is the presumed key to male character. The male sexual constellation of attributes results in "... an overpowering sexual drive which no measure of friendship or even close kinship relations with a female can totally eradicate" (Mulhare 1969:141). He is easily aroused and ill able to control his urges, thus can easily fall prey to sexual vices, e.g. homosexuality, bestiality, and incest, to feed his lust. Erotic desires develop quickly and "...the male is expected to demonstrate his interest in the opposite sex at an early age and to continue this behavior through his entire adulthood" (Williamson 1970:184). Among certain Latin Americans the need for sexual intercourse from puberty on is felt to be so vital that its lack can lead to insanity (Mulhare 1969). This compelling strength of the sex drive precludes its satisfaction by any one woman, hence masculine fidelity is not expected and would be derided were it suspected. Men commonly have their queridas (mistresses), and exert considerable cunning in their seduction of women. Male sexuality is predatory: the sexual act is one involving conquest and surrender rather than mutual satisfaction of desire or sharing of love. Under these circumstances, a virgin is the most satisfying conquest and will be put to the test. A "good" woman, of course, will not surrender or she no longer is good.

Premarital sexual encounters are expected of the man and his sexual predation is not curbed by the marriage sanctions, although they must be rigidly adhered to by the wife. Men marry good women and often extend the concept of their purity into the marriage, preferring to find the bulk of their physical release outside its bounds. "Because one proof of masculinity in Mexico is the number of children a man can produce, it may be that men use their wives to produce children; satisfy their sexual desires more fully outside marriage; and reserve their love for their mothers" (Fals Borda 1955:308).

Aggressive sexually, the macho suspects all other men of equal designs on women in their own family and attends a great deal of care towards protecting his interests, i.e. his women: mother, sisters, daughters, wife. An elaborate system of chaperonage has been devised which, in effect, protects women against himself, as well as other men. No woman is really felt to be secure in the face of masculine sexual impulses due to the definition of male lust as easily elicited and virtually impossible to curb when aroused. Moreover, it is a point of male esteem to encompass the dual aspects of masculinity in his personal make-up that may be described as predation toward females and protection of females from the predatory instincts of all other males.

Sexual aggressiveness is often transmuted into non-sexual acts of aggression. Virility is associated with violence: blood sports are popular and the masculine code of honor is offended with ease, thus calling for a defense that is in reality a hostile rejoinder to a real or presumed slight. As male-female relations are composed of elaborate assaults and defenses played on a sexual field, so male-female relations are tinged with hostility and suspicion. Paz, analyzing Mexican machismo

as a prime contributor to national character, relates that "...the Mexican views life as combat... they emphasize defensiveness, the readiness to repel any attack. The Mexican macho -- the male -- is a hermetic being, closed up in himself, capable of guarding both himself and whatever has been confided in him" (1961:31). The macho is volatile, "...afraid even to glance at his neighbor, because a mere glance can trigger the rage of these electrically charged spirits" (1961:29).

At the core of the masculine role model is the notion that "...the ideal of manliness is never to 'crack,' never to break down. Those who 'open themselves up' are cowards. Their masculine integrity is as much endangered by kindness as it is by hostility. Any opening in their defenses is a lessening of their manliness. Their relationships with other men are always tinged with suspicion. (1961:29-30).

The tenets of Catholicism mold the role models for Latin American men and women: while the macho apes God the Son, not God the Father (Paz 1961), the template for the Latin American woman is the virgin Mother, a role that is not without its palpable ambiguities. The function of women is to bear children, a demonstration of which is called for from each with some repetitiveness as it represents a visible assertion of the virility of her protector. Yet, at the same time, women are expected to be virginal and "pure" from the taint of lust, hence certain conflicting principles are brought into operation.

Women are seen at one and the same time as inferior and superior to their male counterparts. They are inferior in that by "submitting, they open themselves up. Their inferiority is constitutional and resides in their sex, their submissiveness, which is a wound that never heals" (Paz 1961:30). The Latin American woman is considered:

...to be an instrument, sometimes of masculine desires, sometimes of the ends assigned to her by morality, society and the law. It must be admitted that she has never been asked to consent to these ends and that she participates in their realization only passively, as a 'repository' for certain values. Whether as prostitute, goddess, 'grande dame' or mistress, woman transmits or preserves - but does not believe in - the values and energies entrusted to her by nature or society. In a world made in man's image, woman is only a reflection of masculine will and desire. Womanhood, unlike manhood, is never an end in itself: (Paz 1961:35-36).

So women, anatomically inferior and thus submissive to men, are, according to the cult of marianismo (hyper-"Madonnaism"), semi-divine, morally superior to and spiritually stronger than men (Stevens 1973).

Because women are seen as the moral arbiters of Latin American society, they are treated with respect and expected to comport themselves modestly. Yet:

Despite her modesty and the vigilance of society, woman is always vulnerable. Her social situation - as the repository of honor, in the Spanish sense - and the misfortune of her 'open' anatomy expose her to all kinds of dangers, against which neither personal morality nor masculine protection is sufficient. She is open and submissive by nature: (Paz 1961:38).

This frailty of women, especially in the face of male domination which may border on sadism, has been extolled as a virtue, hence la madre abnegada, or the long-suffering and self-abnegating woman whose greatest virtues became "humility, patience and forebearance" (Williamson 1970:179).

Motherhood is perceived as both the purpose and the pleasure of a woman's life and the hallmark of her character. The paradox, of course, is that motherhood can only be attained through the vehicle of sexual activity and the sexual realm is deemed abhorrent to the "pure" woman, who presumably submits only because it is her nature to submit to a man and because of her open and vulnerable anatomy.

The feminine sexual attitude is one that seeks eternal virginity. A woman is slow to arouse and possessed of minimal sex drives. Her strongest need is the expression of motherhood, a nurturant instinct that is not reserved solely for children but extends itself to the man as well. Not having strong sexual urgings, the woman is faithful by nature, although easily seduced by virtue of her instinct to submit to a man. Although virginity is her greatest treasure, the preservation of which is maintained through great vigilance on the part of her male kin/protectors, her ability to withstand conquest is lessened by her natural acquiescence to male desires. A good woman is not expected to enjoy the sexual aspects of marriage but rather endures them for the sake of the children which result, and because it is her obligation as a wife. However, men feel that it is possible to arouse latent desires in a good woman which may prove insatiable once awakened, thus leading her into "unnatural" cravings for men and thereby changing her into a bad woman. For this reason, many men feel that it is unwise to introduce their wives to the pleasurable adjuncts of the procreative act lest they become irreparably corrupted (Lewis 1966).

Moreover, women are divided into good women and bad ones, with wives being selected from the ranks of the good ones. The myth of their virginity is somehow preserved throughout the child-bearing process and men do not like to sully their wives' purity by engaging in lusty sex acts with them. This manner of behavior is really felt to be more appropriate with a bad woman who no longer must maintain her cloak of innocence and is therefore free to express her consummate pleasure in sexual activity.

The wife is the legitimate recipient of her husband's respect and protection, but not necessarily his love, an emotion not generally equated

with the sexual act which is merely a physical expression of pleasure or functional act of procreation. The prostitute receives no respect and no longer requires protection, having earlier succumbed to the exigencies of lust, but is sought for her love. The love of a prostitute is considered to be a mark of real esteem and signals the true man following the logical dictum that a woman who experiences such a multitude of partners would choose an exceptional lover for herself (Mulhare 1969).

Intra-sex relations are amicable and ties are close between women following the pattern for women to congregate with other women and children in the course of their domestic and social routines. Women communicate more freely with others of their ilk because of shared tasks and concerns and their relationships are not impeded by the competitiveness that tarnishes the dealings between men. Inter-sex relations, however, are clouded by the sexual emanations from men and the feminine resistance to being the pawns in what is essentially a male game analogous to the sexual displays which accompany a dominance hierarchy in any competitive mating pool, and which have been so often and well-described by ethologists, particularly among birds. In this behavior set, women have symbolic value as the visible accoutrements of a man's machismo, but little intrinsic value as individuals.

Male-female relations are further colored by the degree of male dominance that prevails. The Latin American attitude toward women is that "...a woman's place is in the home, with a broken leg" (Paz 1961:36). Women occupy positions that are low with respect to both power and authority, thus must assert themselves in covert ways, usually involving manipulation or ridicule to achieve their ends. By these means, women may turn the tables and in reality become the dominant figure in the home.

Fromm and Maccoby examine this phenomenon and conclude that many women feel that "machismo is an expression of weakness and immaturity" (1970: 152), but refrain from revealing this "secret" knowledge to their husbands in order that they may continue to function and thus avoid violence. "...such men dominate their wives by force when young and strong, but as they age, the woman gradually takes command of the family" (1970:152). Of course, as a woman ages, she also becomes free of her sexual impact and its accompanying burdens and thus is more easily able to concentrate her energies on the nuances of family politics.

Women circumvent or subvert the traditional system in other ways which represent feminine lore or behavior indigenous to the female "race" but largely concealed from men. For example, Mulhare (1969) documented that for Cuban women, at least, childbearing is not always viewed as a God-given task which is sinful to avoid. She found that most informants over thirty-five years old had had at least one abortion, believing that a woman who allowed herself to frequently become pregnant was either stupid, very rich, low class, or extraordinary in some way (1969:184ff).

Role models in southern society are analogous in signal ways to the Latin American types, having similar traits but differing historical derivations. Both spring from patriarchal antecedents, the southern archetypal type being a variant of the British stamp, but the Latin American mold was fashioned from a much more rigorously defined patriarchal imperative. Religious doctrines adhered to in southern society favor the male, as in the Biblical male superiority, but lack the extremism inherent in Catholicism, particularly with respect to the contrast offered by the cult of the Virgin.

While fundamentalist Protestants do not worship the Virgin to the extent that Latin American Catholics do, nevertheless, the mother-figure is revered in social contexts. The mother-son tie is a strong one, probably the most intense of the kin bonds possible, certainly it surmounts the father-son link as well as the mother-daughter and father-daughter relations. The concept of man as son continues until the death of the father when the man-son must assume the role of patriarch with respect to his own children and grandchildren.

In the south, the man is king and woman is his dominion. Because of the boldness of the stamp which masculine imperatives give southern culture, women's roles must be defined in terms of men. In Strawberry Junction, the masculine ideal is of the macho genre. The concept of "maleness" is presented as a matrix of virility within which only certain behaviors are allowed to exist. Typical attributes of the male in this community include hardness or stoicism, powerful sexual appetites and the prowess to indulge them, physical strength and athletic skill, aggressiveness, strong religious beliefs and a highly developed sense of pride--the American counterpart to the Latin American honor which must be maintained at all costs.

Male activities reflect these values. Blood sports and their trappings are central to the male character and represent some of the most powerful symbols of masculinity. Hunting is the consuming occupation, and for this reason the ubiquitous symbol of maleness in Strawberry Junction is the pick-up truck with its rear window gunrack. While it is illegal to carry a concealed weapon in Florida, it is perfectly acceptable, even de riguer, to have shotguns and rifles openly displayed in this fashion. In all likelihood one could find a handgun in the glove

TABLE 9

Motor Vehicle Licenses: Tags Sold By Type of Vehicle in
Florida and North Central County (Proportion of Total)
1974-75

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cars</u>	<u>Buses</u>	<u>Trucks</u>	<u>Trailers</u>	<u>Motorcycles</u>	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
FLORIDA	6,809,365	69.4	0.2	11.7	11.7	2.6	4.5
NORTH CENTRAL COUNTY	14,069	57.3	0.2	21.1	15.3	2.1	4.2

¹Includes recreational vehicles, real property tags, demonstrator tags, and truck-tractor tags

Source: Florida Statistical Abstract, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, 1975, p. 337.

compartment or under the seat, regardless of the legislation to the contrary.

Trucks and, to a lesser extent in Strawberry Junction, cars, although powerful symbols in their right, also serve as vehicles for other symbols. Flags and other patriotic symbols are very common. The American flag is preferred but the confederate flag is also seen. Religious slogans and symbols also abound, e.g. a cross hung by a chain from the rear view mirror or a "honk if you love Jesus" motto on the bumper. Optimally, patriotic fervor and religion can be combined as in the bumper sticker, "God, guts and guns keep America strong."

The south is a bastion of anti-gun control legislation, a gunless man is regarded as emasculated and the fear of gun control robbing him of his "piece" approaches classic castration fear. This sentiment found expression on a chilling truck bumper slogan "the only way you'll take my gun away from me is to pry it from my cold dead fingers". Additional evidence of the relationship of the gun and the penis was seen in this sticker, "when in doubt, whup it out," an apt expression of the redneck man's constant readiness to react to a threat or take advantage of any possible sexual encounter.

Trucks are tended lovingly and a great deal of expense goes into their acquisition and maintenance. Status is accorded among admirers on the basis of how high the truck body is suspended from the ground. Originally, the function of elevating the body was to enable the vehicle to navigate underbrush encountered while hunting, but now it appears to have evolved into a style and often has no direct link to utility. Thus, the highest accolade is to say that a truck is "so high you need a ladder to get into it."

Trucks are painted individualistically to reflect the distinction of the owner, schemes often include metallic paint for glitter; painted designs such as flames, lace, or animals; and sometimes are named as are boats, e.g. "Lil Rascal," "Roadrunner," and so forth. The cabs of these trucks are surprisingly commodious and it is not uncommon to see four men riding abreast. They may be equipped with other comfort and status devices, such as air conditioning, tape decks, and CB radios (the period of research antedates the CB craze somewhat and although these were sometimes seen, they were not in the forefront of social encounters as they later became).

The number of young persons who have access to these vehicles is surprising in terms of their cost. While young men will use any sort of transportation they can, access to a truck is by far the preferred route. Table 9 illustrates the greater number of trucks in the county compared to the State as measured by license tag sales. Consequently, by borrowing or through owning a vehicle, boys will share their good fortune with their peers for cruising around. Girls and women drive pick-ups as well but less frequently than men. Part of the lore circulating during the field research concerned a young woman who rode around nude and laughing in a black truck, a latter day Lady Godiva, but whether she was apocryphal or flesh was never documented.

Speeding is another manifestation of the violent undertone to southern rural culture which finds expression through the vehicle, possibly aided by the heavy drinking that prevails among rural men. The degree of seriousness with which this behavior is regarded can be gauged from this excerpt from the local newspaper:

More than 200 traffic tickets, mostly for speeding were turned in during the week of October 20-27, more than twice the average number for a week's time.

Big time speeder for the week was Joe Dan Bailey, who was clocked at 100 miles per hour (mph) in 55 mph speed zone. Second and third places were captured by Daniel Cox at 93 mph and John Spinks at 92 mph in a 55 mph zone.

Table 10 presents rank order of the leading 50 percent of Florida counties with respect to the proportion of fatalities to reported motor vehicle accidents and compares their rank with respect to other characteristics often associated with driver risk and to the degree of "ruralness." The rankings suggest that ruralness may be associated with higher fatalities allowing speculation that machismo in driving may be dangerous. However, other factors may also affect the relationship, e.g. fewer medical facilities, infrequent police surveillance leading to greater speed, or poorer roads.

The power of the symbolic investiture of the vehicle was made clear during one of the first public functions observed in Strawberry Junction. The occasion was a festival called "Old Fashion Days" which the downtown merchants sponsored in an attempt to revitalize shopping in their several places of business. A small shopping mall located about half a mile from the town proper was felt to be siphoning off too much trade. The festival was a week-long special sale in the downtown stores combined with special events on selected days, such as an auction at which people could use merchant-issued "money" accumulated through shopping, to buy "prizes," square dances, rummage sales, and so forth.

Persons of the town were asked to dress "old fashion" and many women could be seen in long calico dresses and sunbonnets accompanied by their menfolk with specially-grown mustaches, overalls, and bandanas. People of all ages were participants but very few blacks. A small

Table 10

Rank Order of 34 Florida Counties for Motor Vehicle Fatality Rates, "Ruralness," and Proportion of Selected Population Segments, 1975

Fatalities as Proportion of Reported Accidents	"Ruralness"			Proportion of White Males	Proportion of Population Aged 15-44	Proportion of Population Aged 65+
	Total Population	Density Population	Population			
1	2	1	25	28	41	42
2	4	3	61	35	42	42
3	1	2	13	56	32	32
4	8	12	23	53	39	39
5	27	28	24	26	26	26
6	7	11	33	41	20	20
7	14	21	2	49	27	27
8	30	32	35	31	60	60
9	19	8	42	43	31	31
10	5	6	57	55	12	12
11	3	9	1	51	51	51
12	25	25	11	24	56	56
13	31	40	8	66	3	3
14	15	18	44	25	46	46
15	18	7	51	27	40	40
16	17	17	65	9	33	33
17	34	41	55	32	22	22
18	46	45	45	58	10	10

Continued

Table 10: continued

Fatalities	Proportion of Reported Accidents	Total Population	Density Population	Proportion of White Males	Proportion of Population Aged 15-44	Proportion of Population Aged 65+
19*	21	35	49	17	53	
20	23	15	17	44	28	
21	32	23	12	60	14	
22	26	22	53	39	36	
23	37	29	52	61	9	
24	16	20	16	47	29	
25	28	38	10	65	7	
26	9	14	64	29	34	
27	33	42	67	19	38	
28	40	33	40	3	62	
29	10	10	32	23	54	
30	43	34	5	13	43	
31	39	46	37	46	17	
32	42	44	18	57	8	
33	22	19	15	12	47	
34	10	51	41	8	23	

*North Central County

Source: Florida Statistical Abstracts, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, 1976: pp. 13-16, 32-36.

band--two guitars, banjo, and fiddle--and a nasal vocalist provided background music from a flatbed truck. Streets were closed to any but pedestrian traffic in the designated area.

The high point of the day was to collect money for a local charity by selling chances to smash a car--not an ordinary car but every young man's dream. It was a vintage Thunderbird, pristine white and sparkling in the sunlight. It appeared flawless and a crowd gathered around it with awes, discussing its merits and forecasting its fate in hushed tones. The ringmaster for the event invited people from the crowd to step within the roped-off area and take a swing at the car with their choice of weapon--a sledge hammer, a ball "pind" (peen) hammer, or a pickaxe. Prices were announced for smashing the different parts of the machine, differing according to the delectability of the destruction as the prostitute's price to the "John" is gauged to the erotic exoticness of the services.

People were reluctant to commence, and much nervous laughter and joking passed through the crowd. An attempt was made to auction off the windshield, considered the most alluring portion of the car, for twenty-five dollars, but it soon became clear that the prize would go for less. Finally, a man offered five dollars for one blow with the sledge hammer. Once accomplished, the ice was broken and others began to come forward. The next was a girl who was teased into daring. She broke a side window. A young mother then brought forward her very small son, who became frightened and began to cry, so she ventured a smash at the back windshield, wielding the sledge hammer so forcefully that the shaft broke much to the delight of the crowd. Wholesale destruction ensued, with favored spots for the pick being the tires, convertible top, doors, and hood.

Although it was clear that people revered the car and were nervous at the prospect of damaging it, they got much satisfaction over the feat in the rather shamefaced way that people enjoy bringing haloed public figures down to the level of the people during special periods of license granted for this period, e.g. dunking the school principal at the carnival or seeing a celebrity hit in the face with a pie.

During the research period, the community acquired national notoriety as the hub of an underground network of dog fights. At the time, there was a surge of interest spurred in part by the A.S.P.C.A., to eradicate the illegal practice of dog fighting, and Strawberry Junction was revealed as being the origin of the underground magazine, "Pit Dogs" which circulated to patrons of the sport throughout the Southeast. Primarily attracting men, dog fights are also purportedly attended by women and children. The barbarity of the sport is attested to in this description of a dog fight:

One of the dogs involved in the first fight was so seriously injured, we believe its owner was later forced to destroy it...prior to one of the fights...a referee twisted the head off a live pigeon and poured its blood over the head of one of the dogs to show the animals desire for blood and to entertain the spectators. (anonymous 1974)

Cock fights are also found within the area but dog fights are held to be more exciting. These events are kept secret from outsiders because of the illegality of the sports. Not only is it illegal in terms of treatment of the animals, but gambling is also involved and is a more serious offense. Thus, admittance to these events occurs via word of mouth so that participants can be controlled for the safety of all.

Not only the sport itself is lucrative in terms of betting on the outcome, but money can also be made from the traffic of fighting animals. The most common type is the pit bull, but crossbred dogs are also used. The advantage of the pit bull is ferocity and a seeming instinct to fight. Both males and female dogs are used in fighting and the breed is also said to be very affectionate to their owners. The dogs will fight to the death unless the owner intervenes. The breeder, editor of "Pit Dogs", demonstrated the use of the 'breaking stick', a wooden hammer shaft sharpened to a point, to separate a dog's hold. Strawberry Junction men express love for their animals, often keeping them as pets, and see no contradiction in using them for sport as fighting dogs or in the training methods for hunting dogs which require that dogs be shot who are gun-shy or inadequate in other traits.

Sports are important activities to boys and young men, and represent the arena in which they must prove their early manhood (Stein and Hoffman 1978), thus preparing them for the violence of later life. A graphic example of the extent to which aggressiveness is stressed can be found in the annual high school football team Easter egg hunt. The football is wrapped in colored foil as an egg and is placed on the center of the field. The players are divided into halves at either end and at the whistle, all scramble for the ball. The player who holds the ball at the end of the period is the winner. There are no rules to impede wrestling the ball from the others and there is a social advantage, particularly a status jump in the eyes of male peers, to being the victor. Consequently the boys plan their strategies well in advance of the contest. Fingernails are grown long, heavy rings are worn, and the like. The hunt seldom ends without significant injuries.

The hunt is sometimes an open school event, but more often occurs during school hours, thus restricting attendance to those students who happen to be free. Some girls attend, but the rite is primarily an occasion for male competition to occur with minimal supervision, a test for the alpha male, as it were. Women may often be fierce competitors in sports events, but have no contest that rivals the Easter egg hunt.

During the spring and summer city league softball is played in Strawberry Junction. There is a men's league and a women's league. The minimum age is fifteen and there is no upper limit, however, most players on the teams are young, married persons. Tryouts are held and practice begins in February, with the season beginning mid-May and running through July. The remainder of the summer is spent in tournament play between the winning teams on the city league and teams from outside the community. Competition among the city league teams is fierce, and as players become veterans of several seasons, perhaps switching teams in the process, long standing rivalries develop. The men's teams have the following, but the women's games spark more community interest. The men's and women's teams are interrelated by having husband and wife, brother and sister, mother and son, or father and daughter combinations.

Occasionally, a player from a men's team coaches a women's team. This was the case on the team that I joined and resulted in the emergence of problems due to these relationships. Status of team members is determined by team standing and the coach on our team was a player of long standing on the men's team which customarily finished last in the league. This team was perforce something of a joke in the community and although its players professed that fun was the goal of

playing rather than winning; they were nonetheless humiliated by the goads of other men and even women on superior teams. This made it awkward for the coach as some of the team's women had husbands or boyfriends on higher ranked men's teams.

Compounding the problem was the coach's wife, a former player who was currently pregnant and unable to play as a result. Feelings of jealousy were provoked when she was an onlooker to her husband in company with a team complement of young girls and women, especially since much of athletic interaction is physically more intimate than normal social exchange.

When men play team sports they lose their usual sanctions against intra-sex intimacy and can be seen freely exchanging hugs, slaps on the bottom, and so forth. Women, at least in Strawberry Junction, do not exhibit this same physicality, but retain their usual social reticence. When a man, in this case the coach, interacts with women in an athletic context, the patterns of male sports carry over and by creating some role incongruities, illustrate the nature of more usual inter-sex relations. The women on the team were not confused by the actions of the coach, indeed finding his gestures amusing, and had no difficulties distinguishing them from sexual overtures, but not so the wife. Husbands and boyfriends occasionally appeared to take umbrage at the coach's casual handling of the team members but because the situation was clearly not equivalent to a social interaction, ruffled feelings were never smoothed by means of a fight or even hard words, but were laughed off. The athletic contact was an anomalous occurrence and as such was puzzling for the participants to deal with satisfactorily.

The playing field brought out a number of interesting and illustrative marital and family relationships, characteristic of the community and the south in general. With one exception, married women on the team played with the permission of their husbands and schoolgirls or young unmarried women with the permission of their parents. Older or divorced women were able to please themselves as they are not accountable to anyone. The exception to this was Margaret, a young woman, twenty-seven years old who was married and had a young son. She had been playing on the local teams since being a young girl and was a very talented athlete. She had been on the quasi-professional team in the community as the short stop but had to leave the team due to an injury which slightly impeded her performance but was unquestionably the star of our team. Softball seemed to be her strongest interest, at times surmounting the needs of her family. She was a member of an athletic family and I had several times played in a game where Margaret was pitching, her brother was coaching, and her father the umpire.

During a discussion about the vagaries of husband, one woman on the team mentioned that her husband hadn't wanted her to attend practice that evening but she had replied that he could take care of himself for a couple of hours and that she was going to practice. Margaret said in response that it was not a good idea to let husbands get out of hand and that her own husband had tried to give her "some shit" the previous night whereupon she said, "Kiss my ass! The door swings both ways and you can leave anytime." Margaret said that she had told her husband before they were married that he could go to ballgames with her and they would court afterwards.

However, although women occasionally stand up to their husbands, by and large, this is token resistance only. A young married woman who was a teacher in a local school joined the local team two months after the other players had been together because her husband refused to let her play until she had lost twenty pounds. By and large, husbands seldom watch their wives play and rarely come to practice sessions.

Women who desire to play softball must make their own arrangements to do so. Small children are left with family, generally the child's maternal grandmother, but often a younger sibling of the mother. Often children are brought along to the playing field in the company of the mother's younger sister, and for several months my own daughter was assumed to be my young sister who was in my care. The relationship between young women and the children who attend them is often unclear, especially when the age difference between them is judged to be close. Because women often bear children while still quite young and because large families are not uncommon, these children may be taken for either siblings or children of the woman whom they accompany. Indeed, a child of a young unmarried mother may be accepted by the grandparents and raised as their child, so that a "sister" may in fact be a daughter. That this generational substitution has taken place may be more or less well known in the community but it is usually attempted in secret, although the true relationships may be suspected.

Children are not cared for mutually by the group but left to their own devices and the expectation that the mother will be watching out for it. On occasion when babies were brought, the mother was teased about it:

Let's put the baby at the end of the table and see if she'll jump off or have to be pushed.

If that baby cries, we can put him in the trunk of the car.

As is true cross-culturally (Brown 1970), men almost never take primary responsibility for children, even on a temporary basis. Men consider this to be "baby sitting" and refuse the task in most cases.

Although as mentioned above, women do not interact physically during sports as men will, there is a good deal of grooming behavior which takes place and which illustrates the hierarchy. Margaret was definitely the best player on the team and expressed a good bit of hauteur about her position. As such, she acquired satellites among the younger girls on the team and allowed them to groom her in return for, or in hopes of, her favor. These girls would comb her hair, bring her bubble gum--the feminine equivalent of chewing tobacco, and warm up with her (throw and catch the ball) prior to practice or game. The amount of grooming allowed was directly related to the playing ability of the groomer. Other less skilled players were left to work out their own grooming relationships following the dominance order.

Although dominance hierarchy among women team players was demonstrated in grooming behavior, physical aggression was also used or at least threatened. At one point, a player became so enraged by a trivial incident during a game that she threw a bat some 100 feet, shattering the windshield of a parked car and thus effectively ended the discussion. Teamwork was employed as well. For example, members of a grooming clique would gang up on a teammate to insure forcing their interests.

I originally joined the team to make contacts and eventually this turned out to be the case, but at the outset this did not appear to be possible. I was solicited as a player by an older women of the community who along with two daughters had played on the team previously

and was attempting to organize it once more. I had never played before but on learning that no one liked to play catcher, I decided to try out for that. I knew only the woman and her daughters when I went to the tryout practice. At the outset, everyone made a great deal of fun of me because I said "catcher" and they all called it "ketcher" and they were extremely derisive when I demonstrated lack of expertise at batting; indeed their comments from the field were so candid as to test my courage sorely about returning to the next session. However, aside from these comments and some additional rather vicious gossip about absent players, there was little verbal exchange among the women. Contrary to my expectations, no one was interested in talking to the other players or introducing themselves, but seemed to regard softball as some form of work; they came to the field, got their equipment together, practiced, went home. This pattern continued through the season. It was not until I had acquitted myself fairly well in the first game by making a rather spectacular catch, that any of the women really began to chat idly with me without being prodded into a grudging conversation by me.

There was no occasion on which the team players socialized after a practice session or games. I found this pattern disturbing, but common among adult women, who are very insular about social contacts. Both sexes form significant relationships within their own sex group and the bulk of their interaction takes place in this way. This seemed strange to find so little camaraderie among women but should be interpreted as reflecting their insularity towards outsiders and not as indicative that same-sex interactions are not the major source of social contact for women.

Violence in social encounters is ever present given the need of the male to be masculine combined with the ready availability of guns and cars and inflamed by the heavy drinking that is customary for the southern rural male. I was often told of car chases ending in gunfire--typically, a shotgun would be fired at the back of the pursued car. Usually physical violence is not intended in these cases but rather the exchange of buckshot is "good ole boys having a good ole time."

Men feel they have a right to protect their property in the largest sense and are quick to perceive trespass. For example, a man of about forty years noticed a parked car outside his house in town one evening, not liking the look of it, he walked out...with a 12-gauge shotgun and blasted it...glass went all over the street and the car screeched off. I never heard nothing more about it.

Women are regarded as property in need of protection, particularly against other men. This protection actually is more for the benefit of the men than the women, i.e., it is rather more in the nature of conservation than protection against harm to the women themselves. An individual man will guard his woman against his peers and this individual case is extended to the collective. The girls of the town are tended to after the fashion of the remuda as young men have strong suspicions that men from nearby towns will be desirous of raiding their "stock."

Violence is also a major theme in the relation between the sexes. Men fear other men, hence "women absorb male aggression (sexually) so that men are safe from each other" (Chesler 1978:233). The female role by its very nature sometimes elicits violence in the cultural context. Idealized femininity includes physical attractiveness as one of its

major attributes and this is often asserted in terms of overt seductiveness on the part of women. A common pattern is to "show out" and attracts man into flirting with her thus provoking her husband or boyfriend into fighting with him to defend his pride as expressed in possession of the woman. Although this often spills over into wife-beating, nevertheless, the behavior is cohesive in that it serves to ratify the existing relationship and reassure each that gender and social role expectation are being adequately fulfilled--she exercises her attractiveness and he his dominance, a certain amount of excitement has been created, and so the cycle continues.

However, it is not uncommon for violence generated in this way to escalate, as in the case of a young couple, Debbie and Bobby. When I first met Debbie she was twenty years old and the mother of a young son six months old. Debbie was a prettyish slight blond girl who looked ten years older than she was. Both eyes were blacked, her hand broken and casted, and her entire body exhibited bruises and lacerations, the most significant of which appeared in an irregular line along her spinal column. The baby also had a large bruise on his forehead which she said was the result of a carpet burn. Debbie's boyfriend and father of her baby beat her after an argument. Debbie had discovered him in bed with another woman and had threatened to leave him whereupon he began to beat her with his fists and a hammer, injuring the baby during the fray. Although Debbie doesn't like to get hurt, she felt that Bobby had the right to try to make her do what he wanted, however, as she attempted to get away from him in her car, he "...jumped on the hood and started hitting the car." This was intolerable and as a result, she had Bobby arrested. Rape and child abuse also may spring from the

violent core of southern rural society (MacFarlane 1978, Martin 1978).

The feminine role is subordinant to and contrapuntal to the masculine role. A woman's rightful domain is in the home, raising her children. Men have little input into childrearing beyond choosing sons' names or the like. The fathering role does not include child care in the literal sense, as evidenced by the behavior of "softball widowers." Children are primarily considered to be the property and responsibility of women. Mothers who must go out for any reason are expected to either bring their children with them, often in the care of one of the mother's younger female siblings, or arrange for their care in some other way, e.g. leaving them with a grandparent. Fathers do not "babysit" while wives socialize or conduct necessary business such as grocery shopping or laundry.

Female activities do not necessarily coincide with males: although they may occasionally join a hunting trip or go "juking" with their husbands. The more common pattern is for men and women to socialize separately as children inhibit the social flexibility of women. Church activities and working sessions with other women, usually age-mates, are the most usual form of female recreation. Certain activities, such as summer softball and certain community charitable ventures, although limited in type and scope, present opportunities for crosscutting age-grades and placing girls in contiguity with women of all ages.

Women may work outside the home for necessary wages, but few work for self-fulfillment or could be considered to have a career, this being a male prerogative. Moreover, most rural women have neither the training nor the inclination for a real career, having had no sisterly models to emulate in this direction. In addition, in male dominated

societies, women are confined to monotonous or undesirable tasks. Moreover, Brown (1970:1075) suggests that "...the degree to which women contribute to the subsistence of a particular society can be predicted with considerable accuracy from knowledge of the major subsistence activity. It is determined by the compatibility of this pursuit with the demands of child care." Farm women can, of course, share the subsistence responsibilities, and women whose children are grown have more autonomy, but for women with children the prospects are more limited.

Strawberry Junction is made up of overlapping kin groups and the extended family is the model pattern, so it is possible for women to spread the care of children among alternate substitutes in the female kinswomen. There is no day care center. However, employment is not plentiful, albeit possible, especially by commuting, hence wide-scale employment of women is not likely. In addition, the education necessary to widen career and life opportunities is not encouraged. Rural residents react with hostility or ridicule towards education, adhering to the principle that the length of education is correlated with greater femininity for males and greater masculinity for females (Oakley 1972).

Although the female role is contextually defined as subordinant to the male, women may accrue power even though they are denied authority. Rosaldo (1974:21) distinguishes between power, "the ability to gain compliance and authority, the recognition that it is right." Women acquire power by influence or subterfuge, or as a result of their progress through the life cycle. The mother-son bond is a strong one and as the father ages, the mother becomes more sought as the family authority until she must give way to the son. During the period at which women are most vulnerable to male dominance, their early married

years, women often resort to ridicule to retain home control.

Probably the main difference between the sexes with respect to the developmental cycle is that manhood is an extension of boyhood but womanhood departs markedly from girlhood in Strawberry Junction. Adolescent boys ape their adult counterparts. They hunt, fight, drink, drive fast trucks and chase girls--activities which can also be found well-developed among adult men. However, the adult woman is expected to be virtuous, sexually restricted to her husband, and socially circumscribed to the world of children and other women, and, on rare occasions, her husband's company. The license allowed the adolescent girl stops at marriage.

CHAPTER VI

THE SEXUAL EXPERIENCE: SEXUALITY, ETHNOCONTRACEPTION AND PRECOCIOUS PREGNANCY

Like other aspects of human behavior, sexual activity has a biological basis and function, but its expression is culturally defined.

"sex" is not a particularly useful word in the analysis of cultures. To survive, a culture must reproduce, and copulation is the only way. But what is defined as "sexual" in content or implication varies infinitely from one culture to another or within the same culture in different historical periods" (Oakley 1972:99).

The realm of human sex, gender, and procreation has been subject to, and changed by, relentless social activity for millenia. Sex as we know it--gender identity, sexual desire and fantasy, concepts of childhood--is itself a social product (Rubin 1975:166).

Choosing partners, selecting an appropriate rendezvous, engaging in sex play, knowing when to begin and when to leave off one's sexual career, control of the sex drive, learning about sex, and even the stuff of romance are part of the fabric of culture and being so, must be learned.

Sexuality must be regulated in order that ownership of children from the union and property can be determined, and sexual partners will have defined responsibilities toward each other and the respective kin groups. Because young persons in most cultures are not equipped to tend to these responsibilities, adolescent sexuality is at issue.

Most cultures attempt to control adolescent sexual activity. Where early marriage and childbirth is encouraged, e.g. Asia, Africa, it occurs within a socially accepted and prescribed pattern. In cultures which permit adolescent sexual activity but prescribe later marriage,

sex is controlled by means of ritual restrictions, e.g. coitus interruptus, coitus inter femora, homosexuality.

Often premarital conception is desirable to prove fertility. In cultures having very early marriages as in India where girls may be married in their young girlhood, consummation is deferred until after menarche. If pregnancy occurs outside the culturally sanctioned domain, forced marriage, ostracism, abortion or infanticide, even murder, may be sought to restore the social equilibrium.

Despite a certain amount of ethnographic inquiry, little is known about the variety of sexual expression relative to other facets of human behavior. Marshall and Suggs (1971) point out that because sex is a physiological drive which may be expressed in varied but physically limited ways, its study is significant cross-culturally. They divide anthropological sex researchers into a three-fold classification. First, the conservatives whose treatment of sex customs is prudish and limited to social aspects of marriage exclusive of sex practices or techniques. The second group were more progressive and included mostly descriptions of Oceania and Africa, e.g. Devereaux, Fortune, Schapera, and Whiting; they recognized the role of sexual behavior and attempted to examine it. The last category are the synthesizers such as Beach and Murdock, who have attempted to use sexual data in comparative and analytical studies.

Data from the Human Relations Area Files have been used to generate information about human sexuality and associated beliefs (Ford 1945, Ford and Beach 1951, Gebbard 1971). Most, but not all, cultural groups associate sexual intercourse with pregnancy, having a variety of causal paradigms to explain the relationship. Menstruation is not only associated with sexuality but often is invested with supernatural power

and its force may be feared, e.g. fear that a menstruating woman may "burn" the crops. Menstruating women are surrounded by taboo and many cultures have elaborate rituals to protect men from contamination and defilement. Rites de passage accompanying menarche are among the most frequently observed rituals for women. Cessation of the menses may also be significant as it signals an end to the procreative function. However, in many societies, particularly among certain African, Melanesia and American Indian groups, the menopause begins a period when women are released from many sanctions and thus can begin to become powerful matriarchs and enjoy sexual license withheld from their younger sisters.

There is little cross-cultural information pertaining to the first ejaculation and this event is seldom celebrated ritually, rather the most common rite de passage signalling entrance into manhood is circumcision. Thorarche (first ejaculation) was compared to menarche, yielding the information that nearly half the sample recognized it as a significant milestone in their masculine development although less than one-third had been previously instructed to anticipate the event compared to over ninety percent of girls who receive instruction prior to menarche. Thorarche, unlike menarche, exhibits seasonality--first emissions occur more frequently during the spring, then summer, falling off during fall, and least likely in winter; no secular trend was observed as in lowering ages for menarche (Levin 1976). Various properties are attributed to semen and frequently men are wary of losing their vitality through semen loss. This is not only true for people living traditional lifestyles as in India, but can also be recognized in most athletic training programs in America today.

The sexual organs are universally felt to exert a powerful effect and represent the parts of the body most often clothed. Even in cultures practicing nudity or semi-nudity, systems of etiquette insure modesty. Exposure of the genitals elicits sexual advance or conversely, expresses a hostile or insulting gesture, viz. the American customs of "streaking" and "mooning." Certain culturally-specific but varying gestures which can be formed using the hands or mouth, for example, acquire their obscenity as symbols of the genitals.

A corollary to visualization of the sex organs is that although the desire for privacy during sexual relations is not universal, or is frequently sought. While it is uncommon for modern-day Americans to live communally, this was historically once more usual, and still occurs among low-income segments of the population. Thus, parents may engage in conjugal relations in the same room in which the entire family sleeps. Time for sexual encounters appears to vary with activity patterns (cf. Melbin 1978), as does frequency.

There are few universal standards of sexual attractiveness due to the diversity of physical types, material culture, and human imagination, but more attention is devoted to the charms of the female than the male. Odors and perfumes, music, and substances believed to be aphrodisiac have universal sexual appeal.

Childhood masturbation is fairly commonly accepted and occasionally adults manipulate children's genitals to calm them. This practice was felt to be common in the Orient and among nursemaids in Victorian England (Haller and Haller 1974). Heterosexual play involving mutual fondling to orgasm begins during adolescence in traditional cultures and "the evidence from these primitive societies suggests that children and

adolescents find sexual play extremely gratifying" (Ford 1945:22).

Adolescent activity is less accepted as a natural phase of development among Americans, and its practice is covert and arranged by the adolescents. Foreplay is variable in type and duration; where it is practical, men are slightly more likely to handle women's genitals than the reverse. It is interesting to note that the American Cancer Society claims that more cases of testicular cancer are discovered by women than by men and that it also exceeds the number of breast cancers discovered in their partners by men.

While sexual fondling (petting) is the most prevalent type of sexual behavior among adolescents, heterosexual coitus is the most frequent type of sexual activity among adults. The amount of variety in sexual interactions varies with education (Kinsey 1953), but the male superior ventral-ventral coupling is clearly the most frequently occurring position among Americans and probably is the most common cross-culturally. Heterosexual union is rarely the only type of sexual behavior among adults but other types of sexual activity, e.g. non-copulatory sex play, homosexual congress, sodomy, are secondary in the life span of any large group.

The duration of intercourse is commonly short and the capacity to engage in coitus and to achieve orgasm appears to be greater in the female in human and other primate groups (Ford and Beach 1951), despite the widespread belief to the contrary (Gross 1978, Rainwater 1971). Findings of the latest generation of sex research (e.g. Masters and Johnson, Hite 1976) have established that sex drive is as strong in women as men but that previous social codes obscured this tendency. The new wave of feminism has brought about changes in women's sex

behavior which, some say, have affected male performance adversely (Nobile 1972).

The development of sexual identity and orientation to sexual behavior is integral to understanding subsequent practices and attitudes. Laws (1970) isolates six components of sexual identity: (1) gender, (2) feelings of femininity or masculinity, (3) body image as evaluated by self and peers, (4) rated attractiveness, (5) sense of self as a sexual being, and (6) fertility. Realization of sexual identity is dependent on biological events as well as social events and influenced by relationships to significant others, e.g. parents, peers, physician, sex partner or spouse, and community norms. "Most American parents do not seem to contribute the major amount of input into the sexual socialization of their children" (Lewis 1973:167). Consequently, information about this most important fact of life must be obtained from other sources--perhaps sex education, more likely from peer lore or experimentation. For example, Levin (1976) found that only 12 percent of boys told someone about their first ejaculation and 42 percent attempted to hide the occurrence of the event.

Adolescents have difficulty in talking to parents about sexual matters (Deschin 1969, Lo Piccolo 1973), but display less promiscuity where their sex information was obtained "legitimately" from a parent or book (Deschin 1961). More females than males receive the bulk of their sex information from parents, with those boys who engage in sex most often having the least parental input to their knowledge base (Lewis 1973). This tends to support a double standard for sexual behavior allowing boys to experiment but protecting girls. Spanier (1976) suggests that informal sources of information, e.g. peers, influence adolescents more than formal sources and that regardless of

the original source of sex information the most powerful influence with respect to behavior is exerted by the current relationship or dating experience.

Just as the relationship of health education to improved levels of health is intuitively believed to be positive but remains unproved, so is sex education of questionable merit as a deterrent to venereal disease, pregnancy, or psychosocial distress. The belief in the beneficial aspects of sex education, especially as part of holistic health promotion programs, is widespread and lack of corroboration of this effect may be due in part to the uneven quality of health/sex education programs confounding analysis and comparison. Nevertheless, an assessment of the effect of sex education in its broadest sense, including development of sexual identity as well as formal or informal instruction regarding sexual behavior, is important to understanding the adolescent.

Measuring the rates of adolescent sexuality is difficult because of the intimacy of the problem. Adolescents tend to be quite reticent about revealing details of their private selves particularly when the revelation pertains to genital concerns as this is the age when persons may be the most modest. Young girls are especially shy about their changing body shape and function and dislike revealing any aspect of it, particularly to an adult. The fear of being severely chastised by the older generation also prompts adolescents to maintain secrecy about their sexual encounters. Parents may withhold permission for children to be surveyed regarding their sexual experience. Nevertheless, current estimates of premarital intercourse, while varying, indicate that appreciable numbers of young people are entering their sexual lives during adolescence (Wagner, Fujita and Pion 1973; Udry, Baumann

and Morris 1975). "By 1973 studies in various localities showed that about 35 percent or more of high school seniors, both male and female, were nonvirgins" (Chilman 1979:113).

Many researchers believe that the rate of adolescent coitus is increasing. For example, Kantner and Zelnik (1972) conducted a survey using a national sample of approximately 5000 men and women aged 15-19 and estimated that 28 percent had coital experience. The range was from 14 percent experienced among 15-year olds to 46 percent of 19-year olds, indicating an increase in the probability of experiencing coitus with advancing age. Of the whites surveyed, 23 percent were sexually active compared to 54 percent of blacks. From these findings, Kantner and Zelnik conclude that "premarital intercourse is beginning at younger ages and that its extent among teenagers is increasing" (1972:19).

This conclusion is challenged by researchers who argue that other factors obscure the trends. Cutright (1972) contends that most estimates of the degree of sexual activity among the young are based on the rising numbers of illegitimate births among this cohort. He suggests that this is a spurious relationship because the number of births reflects changes in fertility rather than in sex behavior. In support of this contention is the lowered age of menarche over the last century combined with improved nutrition in the pre-adolescent period which could be expected to increase fecundity, the ability to conceive, and retard spontaneous fetal loss.

However, the real sexual revolution antedates the modern terminology. "The major inflection in the curve of premarital coitus behavior occurred in the cohort born between 1900 and 1909" (Laws 1970:48).

In addition to estimating the incidence of coitus among adolescents, it is of interest to discover the range of non- or pre-coital activities engaged in by adolescents and, to explore the factors associated with participation in sexual behavior. Again, types of sexual activities and frequencies of occurrence are difficult to measure for the reasons given for sexual intercourse but also because ideas of what activities may be counted as precoital sex behavior may vary from behavior that is only peripherally sexually stimulating, e.g. dancing, hand-holding, and so forth, to transactions requiring genital contact.

Chilman (1979) reports that about half of boys and one-third of all girls have masturbated by age fifteen, and that data suggest that this behavior is beginning at earlier ages than formerly with a larger proportion of adolescent girls electing this form of stimulation. With the publicity that auto-erotic activities have received from the sex research of the past decade via the media, some of the former stigma attaching to these practices seems to have abated, although a considerable degree of embarrassment remains.

Masturbation is believed to be the initial sex experience for boys although the first nocturnal emission may be regarded as the orienting signal. Girls, on the other hand, are believed to begin their sexual experience as part of a relational contact, e.g. by petting (Kinsey 1953). Sorenson found masturbation behavior differed between boys and girls (in Chilman 1979); boys more often reached orgasm and sexually experienced persons were more likely to masturbate than non-experienced. The most active masturbators were girls who were currently engaged in coitus. These findings suggest either that masturbation stimulates desire for intercourse or that intercourse increases the desire to masturbate.

Probably the relationship is reciprocal and sexual activity begats sexual activity.

The behavior popularly known as "petting" or "making out" in current cant represents the initial sexual encounter with a partner and may act either as a transition to intercourse or an end in itself. Petting consists of physical contact between partners sans genital union. It can include kissing and fondling of the breasts or genitals or oral-genital contact. Petting is widespread among adolescents because it is more socially acceptable* than intercourse, may be conducted more conveniently and with less privacy, and lacks the consequences attendant on coitus. "Petting may be accepted because of the social prestige which it carries and because of the dancing, drinking, auto rides, and other social activities which may precede or accompany it"

(Kensey 1953:228).

Petting may be used to preserve what Reiss has termed the "experienced virgin" (Laws 1970). It allows for sexual gratification without tearing the socially critical membrane, and excepting the bizarre, does not lead to pregnancy. Moreover, maintaining sexual activity at this threshold can be advantageous to the girl. Direct clitoral stimulation may increase feminine orgasmic response but leave the male partner with a desire for coitus which may cement the relationship in the direction desired.

Although anthropologists occasionally observe and report both masturbatory and petting practices of traditional people (e.g. Hogbin 1970, Meed (1928), Schapera 1941, and Malinowski 1929) little is known about explicit forms of these behaviors in our culture. Consequently, valuable information dealing with alternative sexual modes, particularly among teenagers, is scanty in the literature.

For example, it would be interesting to know more about adolescent sexual variety as it applies to birth control or, perhaps more accurately, conception avoidance.

Factors which have been associated with coitus among adolescents include race, income, age, sex, education, residence, and religiosity. Blacks have higher proportions of sexually active persons by age but otherwise exhibit similar patterns to whites (Kantner and Zelnik 1972, Vincent 1969); little is known about masturbatory patterns and petting, but differences are expected in view of the relative nonemphasis of pre-marital virginity, and in-wedlock conception. Coition is related inversely to income and socio-economic status (Kantner and Zelnik 1972, Kinsey 1953).

Education affects participation in sexual behavior; pre-marital intercourse incidence is lowered for both blacks and whites when the father's education level is higher or the education level or goals of the adolescent are higher (Kantner and Zelnik 1972, Udry et al. 1975). Factors which relate to socio-economic status of the father, e.g. income, education, occupation, are inversely related not only to participation in sexual activity but also to experimentation so that masturbation and "non-missionary" coitus are also lower among blue collar members (Chilman 1979; Furstenburg 1976, Kinsey 1953). Characteristics of the mother do not appear to have the same influence.

Sex differentiation accounts for higher levels of sex activity among males who also evidence greater numbers of partners than among young women. A stronger male sex drive has been posited as accounting for this difference, but the sexual double standard is probably more influential (Gross 1978).

Coital behavior correlates positively with age. The likelihood of engaging in non-intercourse sexual interactions also increases toward the latter portion of adolescence (Kantner and Zelnik 1972, Schoof-tams et al. 1976).

Religiosity retards sexual congress. Premarital intercourse and other sexual activities are lower among persons with a strong religious orientation (Kantner and Zelnik 1972).

Sexual activity has also been explained as a variant of deviant behavior (Gianturco 1974; Josselyn 1970, Pohlman 1969, Gadpaille 1970) and associated with acting out, generational conflict, delinquency. The relationship of sex education to coital incidence, though intuitively negatively associated, is unclear (Spanier 1976, 1977).

Premarital coitus is also associated with urban residence (inner city) or among females moving to urban locations from farm residence; rural incidence appears lowest (Kantner and Zelnik 1972). It is worthwhile to note, however, that the majority of studies are based on urban populations so the dimensions of sexual behavior in rural locations is not well known.

Girls are more likely to have intercourse in the context of a "serious" relationship and have fewer sex partners during their career than their male cohorts (Kinsey 1953). The nature of family interaction also influences adolescent sexual behavior, with less activity among children of natural father-headed households (Kantner and Zelnik 1972) or within cohesive family relational units (Lewis 1973).

Anthropologists have taken the holistic view with respect to birth control, or natality regulation, judging it to be the result of operations that occur within cultural systems, possibly at the intersection

of spheres which may not appear to be related. To this end, attempts have been made in the literature (e.g. Davis and Blake 1956, Ford 1945, Lorimer et al., 1954, Nag 1962) to classify the factors contributing to regulation of births and which largely shape the natality pattern characteristic of each society. Polgar (1968) asserts the probability that both negative and positive interference in the human reproductive process are cultural universal traits. Practices that affect births fall roughly into two categories: (1) deliberate natality regulation of all behaviors whose sole or partial purpose, recognized by those engaging in the behavior, is to increase or decrease the number of children born and surviving; and (2) cultural practices which are not deliberately undertaken to achieve this effect.

Some part of the behaviors which affect natality fall under the aegis of folk medical beliefs in that they are either folk formulae--behavioral or ethnopharmaceutical for "treating" or eliminating pregnancies, or part of the body of health-related knowledge that is universal, albeit varied in nature and scope, which can affect pregnancy. That these folk beliefs constitute "fairly well-organized and reasonably consistent theories of medicine" (Sanders and Hewes 1953:45) which are firmly rooted in time and the experience of generations, having been found to have functional value in social as well as therapeutic processes, they tend to persist even in modern, pluralistic nations (Murphree 1968, Murphree and Barrow 1970, Balmat 1973).

Nag (1962) identified three sets of factors which affect fertility based on data from sixty-one non-industrial societies but which are useful in discussing birth control from a cross-cultural vantage. The first set of factors related to the probability of coitus, including

the frequency of coitus, abstinence, age at marriage, polygamy, and the rules governing separation, divorce and widowhood. Factors related to the probability of conception, e.g. fecundity and contraception, account for the second set. Third are factors relating to the growth of the fetus and survival of offspring, including abortion and infanticide.

Coitus must occur in order that the reproductive process culminates in a birth. Further, it must occur frequently enough to allow conception but not so frequently to tax semen production below fertile levels. No society has been documented with sexual activity rates high enough to reduce fertility levels in males and it is safe to assume that this happens only in idiosyncratic expression.

Low incidences of coitus can occur and may affect fertility. Certain societies may regard semen loss as dangerous and provide strong constraints against weakening practices. Other restraints, e.g. lack of privacy or ritual abstinence periods, also act to lower coital frequency. In societies where there is a high degree of separation of male and female roles, there may be antagonism and suspicion between sexes and ritual sanctions to allay the danger of contact with females. New Guinea men of Wogeo (Hogbin 1970) practice self-mutilation by cutting the penis with crab claws to simulate menstruation as a means of combatting the danger of relations with women; a long period of abstinence necessarily follows.

Too frequent intercourse has been hypothesized as detrimental to fertility of women--the theory proposed by Malinowski (1929) linking sterility with promiscuous intercourse called attention to this phenomenon among the Trobriand Islanders. This effect is probably illusory and

any observed sterility is more likely related to an immune response to multi-donor sperm, the increased incidence of viral diseases sexually transmitted, or to adolescent infertility--a period which might be extended in nutritionally-deprived settings. The double standard of sexual behavior can result in differential sexual opportunities for males and females, and other factors related to cultural use of space, notions of privacy, culturally-sanctioned uses of sex, and so forth, may also affect coital frequency.

Abstinence from sex for culturally prescribed periods influences fertility and effects birth control. Menstrual and postpartum taboos, especially abstinence related to the duration of lactation reduce births. In certain cases, e.g. the Tswana (Schapera 1941), marital relations are resumed during lactation but coitus interruptus is practiced to space births. The period of lactation may have a contraceptive effect by suppressing ovulation especially where milk production taxes an undernourished mother (Gonzales 1964). Ritual occasions or work patterns which call for periods of separation of the spouses can also effect abstinence.

Age at marriage is believed to be one of the most influential determinants of total reproductive output. Women are used as the usual reference point because their reproductive span is shorter but age differentials between spouses can affect coital frequency, thus conception. Age of first sexual liaisons is also an important factor because after an initial period of adolescent sterility conception is possible. Conversely, delayed marriages reduce fertility.

Thus in Ireland where women defer marriage until the late twenties, fewer births result (Arensberg and Kimball 1968). The Rendille of Kenya

also exhibit a pattern of delayed marriage, combined with exogamy and male infanticide, to deliberately keep their numbers consonant with the size of the camel herds which represent their support (Douglas 1966).

Polygamy has been linked to high birth rates. Since polyandry has such a restricted occurrence, polygyny seems to be of more relevance to fertility patterns. Polygyny, because it has commonly been found in areas with high birth rates, e.g. Africa, has been linked to high fertility. However, Dorjahn (1959) refutes this on the grounds that while polygyny results in more children per household, i.e. per man, it actually results in fewer children per woman because of rotating childbearing with longer birth intervals, higher incidence of venereal-disease caused sterility, and lowered sperm count due to continual activity of the male.

Frequent separation and divorce can lower fertility by reducing reproductive time. Widowhood can also affect fertility especially in societies which prohibit remarriage.

The probability of conception can be influenced by fecundity in men and women. Fecundity in men, largely determined by sperm count, has never been impaired voluntarily by means of castration or vasectomy on a large scale, although the experience of India and Pakistan with respect to vasectomy was an initial attempt in this direction. Some assertion has been made that certain other practices lessen male capacity to inseminate, e.g. Australian subincision, but the lowering of fertility resulting is probably negligible.

The reproductive span for men has less effect on fertility patterns than social patterns which delineate appropriate times for childbearing, e.g. it is considered shameful for an Indian woman to bear a child

after the marriage of her son and introduction of the young wife into the household (Nag 1967). For women, the span is biologically restricted to a definite phase of the life cycle, roughly fifteen to forty-five years. Phases outside that span, i.e. adolescence (pre-menarche) and menopause, may be deemed as appropriate times for sexual license. Old women of Wogeo take young lovers, explaining that "their desire didn't leave with their teeth" (Hogbin 1970:83).

Nutritional factors affect fecundity. Adequate nutrition is necessary for producing healthy babies likely to thrive and also retards fetal loss.

Deliberate contraceptive methods have been known since antiquity. Contraception may be coitus-related methods which do not affect fecundity or coitus-independent methods which affect fecundity temporarily or permanently. Traditional methods have usually been coitus-related. Folk methods include abstinence; incomplete coitus such as the near-universal coitus interruptus, coitus reservatus (intravaginal detumescence) favored by the Oneida Colony, and coitus inter femora. Male methods have depended on containing the semen or affecting its viability, e.g. skin condoms, spermicidal oils, and the Islamic practice of inserting a pill into the meatus. Females have long used occlusives such as soft grasses used by African women, spermicidal douches, herbal abortifacients and mechanical controtions, e.g. sneezing after intercourse (Himes 1963; Newman 1972).

Abortion and infanticide continue to be the most widely used means of birth control (Davis and Blake 1956). Techniques include physical maneuvering, heat, skin irritants, weakening by starving or bleeding, mechanical irritants, drugs, magic and so forth (Devereaux

1955). Abortion is facilitated by the fact that in many societies children have no social status until they go through certain incorporation ceremonies, hence the fetus is not considered a person. It also has the advantage of being under the control of women.

Infanticide is also an ancient method with estimates of up to half of births during the Pleistocene disposed of in this fashion (Newman 1972). Davis and Blake (1956) liken infanticide to abortion in that it is functionally equivalent but has the added advantages of allowing eugenic and sexual selection of progeny, does not endanger health of the mother, and eliminates culturally inauspicious births.

Folk methods of controlling births have developed as a response to the desire and need to restrict human groups due to exigencies of their peculiar circumstances--ecological, prestigious, or externally enforced, and persist because the need for them continues. Modern contraceptive technology has the potential for allowing every culture via individuals to regulate births as desired, but the actuality in terms of availability, knowledgability and understanding, and faith in method effectiveness, lags behind. Traditional belief systems, of which folk medical beliefs are an important part, are ubiquitously tenacious, viz. the dispersal and enduring fantasy of the American teenage beliefs that one cannot become pregnant through a single act of intercourse and faith in the contraceptive powers of the coke douche and saranwrap condom (Polgar 1966).

Most problems related to the reproductive process have taken women as the focus and the investigations of adolescent contraceptive patterns have followed this example. This is due in part to changes in contraceptive technology. Whereas formerly the condom was the most common

birth control device readily available, new developments have made possible highly reliable coitus-independent methods such as the birth control pill which act upon the woman's reproductive process and which have placed contraception under the control of the female partner. Because control of fertility is now capable of being directed by women, men often abdicate their joint responsibility for it (Luker 1975). The woman's role in contraception is easier to trace because the more reliable female methods of contraception, pills, IUD, diaphragm, require the services of a physician and, if they fail as contraceptors, they may be detected through birth or abortion statistics.

Young men's contraceptive habits have been studied but to a lesser extent than girls' and are more difficult to investigate because male methods do not require medical services, aside from vasectomy, which is negligible in young men and may even be actively discouraged by physicians as is sterilization in young women. Researchers cannot conveniently survey a male contraceptive clinic, for example, nor is it easy to develop a sample of unwed adolescent fathers. Indeed, young men depend on young women to notify them of any contraceptive failures, thus may be poor informants concerning the reliability of their contraceptive technique.

Adolescents are well-known as poor contraceptors. Zelnik and Kantner (1974) reported that half of sexually active adolescents had been unprotected during their last coitus. A variety of reasons have been proposed for their performance. Luker (1975) groups these reasons into two main categories: (1) lack of contraceptive skills, an argument favored in family planning studies, and (2) intrapsychic conflict.

Adolescents have been documented as having low levels of information about the reproductive process and the nature of sexuality and are consequently lacking in contraceptive skills (Furstenberg 1976), and additionally, because of their dependency on peer relations are at a loss to identify sources of help in sexual matters (Wagner et al. 1973). Contraception may be difficult to obtain even when the potential user is desirous of acquiring it because of financial or geographic problems or fear of exposure (Furstenberg 1973).

Birth control users may begin contracepting but lose motivation, especially in the instances of poor follow-up of medical caregivers (Furstenberg 1976, Richardson 1969). Contraceptors acquire and utilize more effective skills after their first birth (Furstenberg 1976).

Likelihood of the use of contraceptives by adolescent girls is increased when the mother is aware of their daughter's sexual activity; the mother may insure that the girl is informed about birth control or the girl may openly seek services after the need for secrecy is obviated (Furstenberg 1973). In many instances, poorly informed girls rely on their partners for information and protection.

Contraceptive knowledge and availability does not insure use, however (Wagner et al. 1973), and adolescents may, seemingly inexplicably, neglect to contracept. Attempts have been made to explain this phenomenon in psychologic terms, e.g. as a result of intrapsychic conflict.

One of the most commonly attributed reasons is an underlying desire to become pregnant to serve a variety of ends. Motives for conceiving prior to marriage include the desire to precipitate marriage or otherwise cement a relationship, hostility to parents or community, masochism, or as a revenge on the sex partner; further "children may provide a welcome escape from freedom [by enforcing] a regime of hard

work, a ritual that safeguards and brings security" (Pohlman 1969).

Pregnancy furnishes proof femininity or masculinity (Chesler 1979), and may signify full adult status (Dougherty 1978).

Adolescents have been described as being oriented to the present, thus unable to avert future consequences through planning. In addition, they have an inflated notion of their own invulnerability, consequently are not able to visualize personal calamities such as being killed, becoming ill, or getting pregnant (Furstenberg 1973).

Luker (1975) applies⁴ the principles of cost-benefit analysis to the decision to contracept. Based on a study of 500 patients in a California abortion clinic, she concluded that risk-taking in contraception was no different than risk-taking behavior with respect to other practices known to be detrimental to health, e.g. smoking, non-use of seat belts. She suggests that women do not subconsciously desire to become pregnant when they take contraceptive risks, nor are they always choosing the optimum method with full knowledge of the risks attached to each, but rather are making conscious, rational decisions based on their current knowledge and without certainty of the outcome, e.g. pregnancy is not assured in advance.

For example, with hindsight, many decisions could be made to appear rational or irrational depending on the outcome. When a woman opts for a less effective method, e.g. coitus interruptus, in order not to lose a sexual opportunity that is important to her and does not become pregnant, her reasoning appears sound. If she becomes pregnant, she appears foolhardy and irrational. Women who neglect to contracept or who opt for the less effective methods may be basing their decisions on balancing erotic needs against protective needs (Hawkins 1970), but they may be acting with reasons that appear rational to them under the circumstances.

Adolescents are more limited in their choice of contraceptives than are older and more independent women because of their lack of knowledge and experience, their need for secrecy, prudery, the unpredictability of their sexual liaisons, and physiological differences. Coitus-dependent methods may be the method of choice for adolescents with respect to medical considerations (Kaufman 1970), but coitus-independent methods appear to be preferred by adolescent women. Oral contraceptives may safely be used in adolescents with no medical contraindications but probably are inadvisable in young girls who have not yet established a regular menstrual pattern (Hunt 1976). Aside from the potential difficulty in obtaining and concealing the pills, the major problem with oral contraceptives is that adolescent girls who have sex infrequently do not maintain the necessary pill-taking schedule, thus placing themselves at risk of pregnancy.

Until relatively recently, intrauterine devices were not appropriate for young nulliparous women and the early IUDs had high expulsion rates. The newer, smaller devices, e.g. the Cu-7, have proved successful for use in adolescents.

The diaphragm approaches the effectiveness of the oral contraceptives and IUDs when used in combination with a spermicidal agent. This is a particularly appropriate method for persons whose sexual activity is sporadic but presents special problems for adolescents. The apparatus is difficult to conceal, an important consideration for many teens. Moreover, girls in the younger teens especially are very self-conscious about their bodies and would find insertion difficult, especially in the presence of boyfriend. Many girls are also reluctant to handle their own genitals and feel repugnance at the intimate manipulation required by diaphragm use (Furstenberg 1973, Luker 1975, Lindemann 1974).

Condoms are generally the cheapest and easiest method to obtain, are effective, and help prevent disease. Moreover, it has the advantage of involving the boy in responsibility for the contraception of the couple (Hunt 1976). Periodic abstinence and coitus interruptus also involve both members of the couple, but among poorly informed or inexperienced sex actors, are poor contraceptive techniques. Zelnik and Kantner (1974) found that only half of sexually active adolescent girls knew when the safe period occurs. Coitus interruptus, probably historically and currently the most frequently used method, is unreliable unless withdrawal is timed correctly and may be risky due to the presence of sperm in fluid released before ejaculation.

There is no reliable information on the use of alternate modes of sexual interaction as birth control, e.g. manual stimulation, or oral-genital contact. Current available information suggests that adolescents confine themselves to conventional congress or engage in other practices because that is the highest level of sexual activity permitted rather than as a conscious attempt to avoid pregnancy, e.g. petting is seldom an end in itself but is seen as part of a coital progression.

When contraception fails the consequences to the adolescent parents and the expected child can be serious. To date, the adolescent father has received little attention, the mother and baby being the most visible of the triad. Early sexual relations can have adverse health effects, e.g. exposure to venereal disease, increased risk of cervical cancer (Deschin 1961, Garris et al. 1976, Hunt 1976, Nag and Bedford 1969) but the greatest risk attaches to pregnancy. Maternal mortality is greatest at either end of the reproductive spans, with minimum risk associated with mothers aged 20-30 years.

This pattern is found in developed and developing countries; socioeconomic factors such as nutritional levels and quality and availability of prenatal and obstetric care may affect the mortality rate, but maternal age has been found to have an independent effect on relative risks (Hunt 1976, Shapiro et al. 1968). Epidemiologic studies indicate that mortality appears to be inversely related to maternal age for women under twenty years of age. Data breaking down risk within this age group are not conclusive but the expectation is that differential risks will be found to exist (Hunt 1976). Compared to the maternal mortality rate for women in the 20-30 year range, the mortality rate for women aged 15-19 is 13 percent greater and 60 percent greater among women younger than 15 (Lincoln et al. 1976).

Pregnancy in teenagers also represents a hazard to the infant. Adolescents exhibit greater rates of fetal loss and infants born to adolescents have higher mortality rates than babies born to older mothers: babies born to 15 year old mothers are twice as likely to die than babies of mothers aged 20-24 (Lincoln et al. 1976). Risk to infants of young mothers is increased due to their greater incidence of prematurity and low birth weight (Hunt 1976). Adolescent mothers account for 19 percent of all infants in the United States and 26 percent of all low birth weight babies (Lincoln et al. 1976). Low birth weight is associated with infant mortality and morbidity, e.g. predisposition to birth injuries, childhood illness, failure to thrive, and neurological defects.

Complications of pregnancy are also greater in the adolescent population. Toxemias of pregnancy and anemia are the worst hazards (Lincoln et al. 1976) but adolescents are also likely to experience first

and/or third trimester bleeding and complications of labor, e.g. prolonged labor, cephalopelvic disproportion (Hunt 1976).

Multiple factors influence the poor reproductive performance of adolescents. Certain socioeconomic characteristics have been found to represent reproductive risk to mothers and infants in general, e.g. low socioeconomic status, illegitimacy, membership in a minority (Shapiro et al. 1968). Persons having these characteristics, including adolescents, are poor health risks in general because they tend to have inadequate nutritional foundations and a poor history of preventive health maintenance. Adolescents are well-known to be poor users of health services. Both mother and fetus may be compromised as pregnancy depletes nutritional reserves needed for growth (Lincoln et al. 1976) and even the skeletal structure of the girl who becomes pregnant before completion of maturation may be at risk. The rural south is an area of poorer health conditions than other regions in the country, and residence there compounds the other problems of its adolescents.

Paternal age as a factor in poor reproductive performance has not been adequately explored though findings in such areas as Down's syndrome and occupational exposures, e.g. to anesthetic gases, are beginning to suggest a more significant influence of the male input than previously suspected (Manson 1979).

Pregnancy patterns among this population also have important demographic consequence. The worldwide trend toward pregnancy and childbirth at earlier ages has added to population growth and had an adverse effect on quality of life (Bumpass and Westoff 1970). Lowered menarchal ages, e.g. a mean of twelve years in the United States (Hinman 1975), has allowed reproductive capacity to begin earlier in the life span thus increasing the total reproductive output potential.

While births to older adolescents (18-19) have shared the overall decline in US birth rate, fertility did not decline among girls aged 14-17 and increased to girls under 15 years, who can be expected to face the most serious health and social problems (Lincoln et al. 1976). Furstenberg (1976) has estimated that pregnancy usually occurs within two years of beginning intercourse.

Adolescents account for over half of all illegitimate births and more than one-third of all births to teenagers are illegitimate (Green and Lowe n.d., Lincoln et al. 1976). An estimated one-third of all marital births to adolescents are conceived premaritally (Lincoln et al. 1976, Tillack et al. 1972).

Premarital conception is estimated to cause up to half of all marriages for adolescent girls and up to three-quarters of marriages for boys (Calderone 1965, Presser 1974). Marriages between adolescents are two to three times more likely to end in divorce (Lincoln et al. 1976, Calderone 1965, Braen 1971, Furstenberg 1976) making it more likely that adolescent mothers seek welfare relief.

Pregnancy is given as the primary reason for adolescent girls leaving school (Calderone 1965, Braen 1971, Furstenberg 1976). Although girls may legally elect to continue their schooling while pregnant or after the birth, it is often the case that they become discouraged via informal persuasive techniques utilized by the school or due to lack of resources, e.g. child care. Because teenage mother lack the skills required for employment, they become disadvantaged as competitors in the job market.

The child of adolescent parents suffers not only the economic drawbacks or social stigma in the case of an illegitimate birth, but

is also subject to the poor parenting skills characteristic of young parents. Contrary to popular credence, mothering is not instinctual but must be learned. The adolescent mother "has a very definite need to achieve her own developmental goals [which] may interfere with her ability to perform as a mother. On the other hand, the extent to which she is successful in achieving her own developmental goals probably enhances her potential as a 'mother" (Nelson n.d.).

The evidence comparing black and white experience of early childbirth indicates that these groups treat the event quite differently. American blacks more typically absorb the new mother and child into the extended family and the grandmother and maternal aunt may have primary responsibility for childrearing allowing a resumption of the young mother's pre-pregnancy lifestyle. Among whites the preferred solutions to the problem appear to be early, perhaps forced, marriage, adoption, or abortion.

The extent to which precocious pregnancy adversely affects young women is suggested by the report that 9. percent of teenage mothers attempt suicide (Braen 1971). Suicide accounts for only 3 percent of deaths of white females aged 15-19 (DHEW 1977).

About one-third of all legal abortions performed in this country are for adolescents (Green and Lowe n.d., Hunt 1976). Although medical and psychological consequences of abortion appear to be similar for younger and older women, the procedures used to terminate pregnancy are associated with differential risks. Teenagers tend to present for abortions later in their pregnancy than older women and thus require more complicated termination procedures. The reasons for this pattern include the general lack of experience in recognizing pregnancy and

reluctance to seek medical or parental advice. Adolescents may also have difficulty in identifying sources of abortion and may be prevented legally or financially from choosing this alternative.

The sexual activities experienced by Strawberry Junction adolescents are an outgrowth of their social life--both ritualized and restricting. Their dating behavior, sexual knowledge and technique, and their response to promiscuous pregnancies must be examined in order to assess the adolescent socio-sexual domain.

The potential for diversion in Strawberry Junction is nominal at best. There are two movie theatres: a drive-in and a walk-in, neither of which is open except on weekends. Transportation is less crucial for the walk-in because a vehicle is not needed for the duration of the evening. Teens can be dropped off by parents or walk to the theatre which is in town. The walk-in theatre fare is more family-oriented. For these reasons, younger adolescents are likely to be granted permission to attend the movies in town. A common social maneuver is to go to the theatre and meet friends--often clandestinely in the case of young girls--and go somewhere else until the show is over. This method of "dating" sans parental knowledge is facilitated by the practice of running the shows at the same times each night, e.g. the first show at 7:00 and the second at 9:00 with the double feature letting out at 11:00.

Sports events present occasions for adolescents to socialize but these are limited mainly to school-related events such as football and basketball games and softball games during the summer. Community interest in the school teams guarantees adult attendance at these functions but supervision of adolescent activity is minimal and opportunities

for liaisons are presented. One year the school provided buses to take students to the out-of-town football games and the phenomenon of "football babies" resulted the next spring.

Aside from sports events, the schools do not provide extra-curricular social activities for students. The reasons for abdicating this traditional role of the school stem from changes in the educational system and changes in the community. Unionization of teachers and introduction of plea bargaining has resulted in shifting teacher responsibility and work load making it difficult to retain teachers as chaperones for after-school functions. At the same time, the participation of parents in school affairs has decreased, reducing the chaperonage pool from this source. Fear of racial incidents has eliminated many traditional school sponsored socials in the post-integration period. Consequently, schools in Strawberry Junction no longer sponsor dances and students must create other forms of social events.

The high school does provide special events that are conducive to sexual activity among participants. One such event is the "Grad Night" for the high school seniors. A bus takes the students to Disney World for a night of fun, departing Strawberry Junction at 6:00 P.M. and leaving the amusement park at 5:00 A.M. for the return trip. According to teens who attended Grad Night, drinking and smoking marijuana was done openly during the trip. The teacher-chaperone stopped students from smoking marijuana but ignored the drinking.

Also for seniors is the annual summer Bahamas cruise which includes four nights in Nassau. A single male teacher organizes and chaperones the trip each year and in addition, according to young women of the school, maintains a tradition of selecting a favorite student and

seducing her during the trip. Other students may also engage in sexual coupling during the trip.

The high school also sponsors a prom which is restricted to students of the high school and their dates. Students from the vocational school and middle school are thus excluded from attendance.

Church-sponsored activities take up much of the social slack in the community. The forty-odd churches provide varying types of social occasions aside from regularly scheduled services, e.g. covered-dish suppers, musicales, picnics, family nights, and so forth. The larger churches also present limited opportunities in the guise of choir practice or bible study classes. Although many young people participate in church activities, in the main, the draw is towards the adults of the community, particularly the elderly. Ministers and parents believe that church attenders are deterred from sexual urges. Observations of young people supports this belief insofar that voluntary participants in religious organizations profess to desire to remain virginal until marriage and their peers corroborate their claims.

A high school senior expressed her views on the relation of her religious principles to her behavior:

I plan to save myself for marriage. I think that sex is a God-given privilege that shouldn't be abused. I think that it should mean something between a man and a woman. How could it mean anything when you do it with anybody who comes along?

Additional social activities for adolescents are limited to special interest groups such as scouting, Four H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, the Roping club, and so forth. According to parents, the families of "nice" girls, i.e. the higher socioeconomic strata of the community, attempt to provide their daughters with dancing classes or

music lessons and encourage them to join Little Women, the girls' adjunct to the Women's Club, in order to occupy their time in non-sexual pursuits. Sexual trysting is not furthered by these kinds of social engagements but their place in the community social scheme is minimal both in terms of numbers of adolescents involved and the amount of time taken up.

Dances are held infrequently and at the whim of sponsors. Having dances given by clubs or private individuals allows restriction of the attendance so that blacks can be excluded without reprisal to the school. The city recreation department formerly held regular dances but terminated the program when it became too difficult to control drinking, especially among young males.

Most of the dances held during the research period were sponsored by the Little Women and were held in the Woman's Club which shared a parking lot with a church. A cleanup committee was set-up for each dance whose main purpose was to remove beer cans and whiskey bottles from the parking lot so that church-goers would not be offended the next morning. Admission to the dance was \$1.25 and most young people appeared to have plenty of money; some had to scrounge up the admission and a few remained outside engaging in interactions with teens who wandered in and out of the dance. Attendance was mainly high school students but younger children could be seen as well as older persons, particularly men. No attempt was made to maintain an appropriate age range; the single important factor in allowing attendance was to exclude blacks. However, blacks apparently are familiar with the "rules" and do not actually attempt to attend white dances despite the prevalent fear among whites that they may do so. In fact, the only person I

witnessed being denied access to a dance during the field research was a young mother who had brought her small baby with her and was forced to remain outside looking in and talking to those who milled about the doors.

Informants indicated that dance attendees were from the community's "upper social class" as a rule. Chaperones were recruited from among the sponsoring girls' parents. Several mothers usually volunteered but at least one father was included in case of trouble with the young men.

Adolescents may come to the dance with a date, but the more common pattern is to come in groups of boys or girls, the usual pattern for social activities. Pairing off is accomplished through the vehicle of the dance rather than as a preliminary to it. Girls do not need partners for fast dancing but may dance with each other. During the infrequent slow numbers, couples dance very close with both arms around their partner. Boys and girls spend only part of their time on the dance floor and pass in and out of the building with frequency, going outside to stand talking or leaving in trucks. Part of the reason for this traffic is so that teens may drink and smoke freely and part is to interact sexually.

The most prominent social activity of teens and young adults is "cruising." Because of the sterile social environment, adolescents are reduced to creating their own diversion which has assumed a paseo-like character. Teenagers drive around at night "hitting" certain locations, e.g. MacDonald's, bank parking lots, all-night jiffy stores, filling stations, and the like.

As is characteristic of most social interaction among teenagers in the rural south, same-sex groupings are the rule. Optimally, an acquaintance will be found--or formed--and riders will shift around in trucks to pair off, proceeding to ther well-known, but less public locations to park and engage in some form of sexual activity. The town is small enough that a few circuits will generally turn up likely prospects, i.e. "Once around the block and you see everyone you know." "Getting in the truck" with a boy is tantamount to agreeing to enter into sexual play with him. The importance of the vehicle in this system is evident, both as the point of access into the sexual realm but also as the symbol of the behavior itself.

Exchanges between participants in the paseo are sexual in content and girls are as aggressive as boys in getting their point across. While cruising with four girls aged fourteen to seventeen, I observed their tendency to taunt boys and their rivals, the other girls cruising the strip. Hanging out the windows, they would call out to a group of boys, "Want a piece...of gum!" or, "Want to have a good time? There's a good one at the church!" Girls they didn't like would be insulted, "suck off bitch!" and made the object of obscene gestures. Beer and swigs of whiskey would be exchanged during stops.

Cruising has an element of risk attached to it which the adolescents find exciting but do not fully comprehend in terms of their personal vulnerability. For example, a group of young teenaged girls were taken cruising by a young married friend whose husband was away for the night. The young wife was able to buy beer to drink during the rounds of Strawberry Junction and several smaller towns outlying it. They encountered a young man walking in a nearby town and stopped to tease him by brandishing a knife and threatening to "cut him and rape him." They told

him to take off his clothes and he responded by saying, "you can't rape the willing," and attempting to enter the car. They drove off very quickly and were stopped by a policeman who remarked about their drinking but did not ask to see identification. Girls often behave very suggestively, teasing a boy and testing the situation to the limit, unaware that their control is tenuous.

Dating begins early, especially for girls who may begin going with boys before their teenage years. Girls tend to be selected as dates by boys and/or men older than they. The physical arrangement of the schools facilitates eradication of the rigid age-grading that might otherwise exist and provides an alternative to the vehicle for meeting potential sexual partners. The elementary, middle, high, and vocational-technical schools form a complex in which the boundaries are not well-defined, allowing for a good deal of circulation among the various age groups. Drop outs and older men who have graduated but not left town may hang about the schools as well. This hastens the growth of a sophistication concerning relational patterns and negates the possibility for containing certain sets of knowledge, e.g. awareness of drugs and sexual lore.

School attendance and attendance at affairs which do not require a date--defined as an occasion in which the boy calls for the girl at her home and returns her there at the end of the evening--provide opportunities for meeting partners. The advantages of this to adolescents are that it allows those of non-driving age to consort with each other and that it is less under the control and supervision of parents and other potentially thwarting adults by virtue of being concealable.

Reliance on vehicles and the amorphous nature of school boundaries function in concert to integrate younger girls with older boys and facilitate sexual relations between them. Sexual predation emanates from both sexes. The maxim that young girls, particularly high school freshmen, "like big dicks" is popularly believed among males. Girls, on the other hand, circulate sexual ratings of the boys.

Sexual relations begin early. Girls of eleven have been found in flagrante delicto at the middle school but the average is probably around fifteen. Boys report beginning sexual experimentation earlier. One young man indicated that he had been introduced to intercourse when he was eight by an older, more experienced "woman" of eleven, but it is doubtful that this is the norm.

Girls are likely to boast of their sexual exploits among themselves, at least to the extent of making it generally known that they are no longer virgins, and are fairly accurately cognizant of who among their ranks are sexually active and who are likely to be pregnant, although this information is concealed from adults. Sex-related topics are in the forefront of girls' minds and poems and stories purportedly written by girls in the school are circulated which examine this fascinating subject [Appendix 2]. Partners in peers' sexual liaisons can be readily identified and promiscuity, as defined by "going with anybody who comes by in a truck" is generally frowned upon as being the lower end of the hierarchy of recognized sexual behavior. The highest, hence most easily understood and acceptable form of liaison is that between partners in a long-standing and serious relationship which may lead naturally into marriage. Peers thus divide girls into

three classes: "good--never been touched, medium--nice, but some experience, and don't cares--they'll do it with everyone."

"Feeling" or "feeling up" (petting) is often the first sexual interaction for adolescent girls. Among novices in this behavior, there is a division between those who had allowed a boy to "feel up her top" (fondle her breasts) or "down there" (explore her genitals) according to the girl's self-assessment of the relative merit of her physical attributes. If a girl believed her breasts to be adequately developed, she would allow them to be felt, otherwise "feeling below the waist" was offered to avoid exposure of small breasts. Differences in sexual excitation apparently do not figure in these initial decisions. The naivete of young girls was revealed when one reported letting a boyfriend feel her breasts. When he additionally asked if he might "suck them," she felt that this was "gross and perverted."

Sexual liaisons most commonly occur in parked trucks or cars, often but not exclusively, in secluded spots. The cemetery is a favored spot. These spots have become traditional spawning grounds and, though secluded from the town, may be heavily populated by parking couples. Intrusion by an outsider, i.e. an adult, is always marked because the car will pull into the area with its lights on. In this case, adolescents parked there will leave. Borrowed lake cottages are more desirable but understandably harder to acquire, especially for "wheel-less" younger adolescents. Houses where parents are absent are also frequently used. The most enterprising solution to the trysting problem was reached when a young man placed a mattress in an abandoned service station and charged a dollar an hour for its use until he was run out of town by parents. Adolescent girls reported that they preferred to have sexual relations inside because "you can catch disease [VD] from laying in the dirt [in the woods]."

These liaisons are hazardous in that detection is possible. A 14 year old girl confided that she and her boyfriend had attempted intercourse in his parent's house during their absence and that their lack of success had made her the laughingstock of the school. They were unable to consummate the act because the boy could not "get it in all the way," and she asked him to stop because it hurt so badly. He got his revenge by relating the story of how she refused to take off her shoes or blouse and could only say, "hurry, hurry." She was humiliated at her failure and admitted that she had not wanted to disrobe completely in the daylight and had feared his mother would come home. She was also ashamed of her super-numerary nipple. She admitted that she had not been able to look at the boy or touch him because she was embarrassed, so she did not know whether he had used a condom.

Parties represent occasions for sex play. In the words of a 16 year old girl, "seems like people in Strawberry Junction can't have a good time or think of something being fun without sex." "Seven minutes in heaven" is a game in which a couple undresses and gets under a sheet in a closed room. They may engage in any activity they choose for seven minutes and then the others burst in on them. In "Flashlight," players disrobe in the dark and hide. If the seeker catches them in the flashlight beam, they must pay a forfeit as decided by the player with the flashlight. I had also received invitation to attend parties where pornographic movies were to be shown but evidence suggests that this is not common because of the need for equipment and the expense of acquiring films.

Adolescents of Strawberry Junction appear to conform to the behavior described for their older counterparts of the rural southern

working class culture (Kinsey 1953) in that their sexual technique is orthodox. Factors contributing to this conventionality include their lack of experience and sophistication compounded by the prudery common to both their social class and age. Adolescents prefer to conduct their relations in the dark and seldom remove more than the essential items of clothing due to their prudish modesty and the possibility of intrusions from adults.

A 17 year old boy reported that the seductive technique differed according to the type of girl encountered. Differentiating between "good" or "medium" girls and the "don't cares" was instinctive and one look sufficed to make the classification. Girls corroborated this, saying that fast girls look "raunchy" and have "long, stringy dirty hair and sloppy clothes." Moreover, they never pass a boy up but are very forward in attracting attention.

With "good" girls, the process is long and gradual and eventual success is not assured, but with "don't cares" usually a few beers allow the boy to begin "roamin' hands" which quickly escalates to sexual intercourse. Girls who will have sexual relations with guys can further be separated into those who insist on being in bed and those who will "do it anywhere." Moreover, according to a young man, some girls won't let you "intercourse them except with your tongue" ("eat them" or cunnilingus) and other "would rather do it to you (fellatio) than let you have intercourse with them." Some boys are said to prefer this as "it does something different to them," but this informant thought that most boys were like him in thinking it "gross and queery." Adolescent lore among girls occasionally focuses on what they consider scandalous exploits such as a girl having consecutive relations with two

boys in one night or a girl who was known to "eat" boys--the unthinkable sidelight to her activities was that she wore braces on her teeth!

Pregnancy is a feared but not unexpected outcome of sexual encounters among adolescents. The knowledge base among sexually active teenagers is inadequate to their needs as is evidenced by the questions asked by another school group [Appendix 3]. Sex education beyond the rudimentary physiological films, e.g. of the Disney genre--"Minnie Mouse begins to Menstruate," is excluded from the school curricula and its introduction is an inflammatory subject in the community. Moreover, most young people cannot identify a reliable non-moralizing source of information in the community nor are aware of extra-community resources through which they may augment their nebulous ideas concerning the process of conception in a pragmatic way. Girls often rely on boys whose explanations may be colored by their expectations. On the other hand, girls have admitted to assuring their partner that they were taking the pill when what they really were taking was a chance. At any rate, relying on information which is gained experientially--or second-hand can be only quasi-accurate at best and totally spurious at worst, leaving adolescents exposed to pregnancy, disease, and psychological trauma.

Parents profess to believing that the proper place for sex education is in the home, but little actually takes place there according to adolescents. Boys are expected to learn through experimentation, e.g. "find out about all the different styles so they could demonstrate it when they found the right girl." A young man said that his initial knowledge of sexual matters was gained by watching his parents through their bedroom window. If he and his sister were caught peeping, his father would whip the sister but would take him out to a shed and tell him

to pretend to cry when he returned to the house.

Girls are given minimal information by their mothers. The bulk of the advice they receive is oriented toward menstruation. They are reprimanded for their interest in sexual matters and advice specific to this aspect of life is couched as a threat or so veiled as to be useless, e.g. "it is safer to stick with girls." One 15 year old girl said that her mother has told her only that it was unfair that the girl had to bear the consequences of sexual activity but that boys "could care less."

Girls reported that they would not know how to get information they needed or how to identify a trustworthy adult in whom to confide. They are suspicious of health department personnel because experience has confirmed that these nurses will gossip about clinic attendees and, in all likelihood, inform parents of the daughter's activities. Adolescents occasionally turn to responsible adults in the town, e.g. teachers, ministers, the director of the city recreation department, but do not utilize this resource to the extent which they safely might. Older peers and siblings of the same sex, especially if married or suspected to be sexually active, are regarded as sexual "experts" who can be consulted with impunity. Adolescent sexual information is also fortuitously gleaned from eclectic sources, e.g. a sex book entitled Depraved Students was currently being passed around. Magazines and movies were additional sources but the most accessible media source was offered in the guise of afternoon television programs: soap operas.

Adolescent ideas about sexual transmission of disease was as garbled as their contraceptive knowledge. A 15 year old girl explained that "some diseases affect sexual intercourse because they can be passed on" and that these "bad diseases can be picked up if you aren't careful

about who you're with and the people around here don't tell when they have one." Many girls related exposure to disease to poor sanitary environments or inadequate personal hygiene, believing themselves to be immune as long as they kept clean.

Ideas concerning contraception are nebulous and affect technique and possibility of pregnancy. Adolescents have heard that there is a safe period during the menstrual cycle when conception is not possible but can't identify it. Adolescents believe that they cannot become pregnant while very young despite the occurrence of their menses. Another common, if ill-advised, maxim is that girls won't conceive if they only have sex once, or conversely, if they are promiscuous...

Condoms are popular among adolescents and are very much in evidence as symbols of activity. Boys are expected to flaunt this version of the Saturday night special but occasionally girls also let it be seen that they are carrying condoms. Nevertheless, many girls who can identify condoms and are aware of their function are unsure of their exact method of use. In addition, they may be constrained by embarrassment from ascertaining that their partner is using one. Despite the general visibility of condoms, their use seems to be sporadic, e.g. boys report that sexual opportunities are taken advantage of regardless of the absence of a condom and that moreover, use of the condom may be situationally judged as inappropriate or unnecessary especially when a delayed advance might jeopardize the outcome.

Pills are the favored method but their acquisition and related variations in use greatly impede their effectiveness. Girls steal them from their mothers or buy or receive them from friends who are married or have acquired a prescription in some way. It is evident that taking birth control pills is in random fashion according to the

instruction of a peer, which can vary from the assertion that one pill before intercourse will be sufficient protection to the belief that a number of pills taken after an incident of unprotected intercourse will prevent conception by making up for the pills missed before the episode. The absence of medical supervision obviates assessment of the likelihood of contra-indications or the detection of the onset of undesirable side effects of this practice of adolescent ethno-prescription. Girls are also vaguely aware of a "morning-after" pill, "something you can take after you've done did it" that will prevent conception, but are unsure of how one would get it.

Coitus interruptus, called in the teen vernacular "pulling out," or "the rag" (so called because a rag is needed to wipe off the semen), is reported to be the most common technique in the adolescent sexual repertoire. A young man explained that this was very dependable because "you could always tell before you injected [sic] but not after because then it was a flow after it started." This same informant provided evidence of adolescent use of coitus reservatus, favored by the Oneida Colony (Himes 1963): "If you relax for about thirty seconds right before you climax, it goes down and then you can go for an hour or so without injecting." He noted that this is very good for the woman but not for the man. It is doubtful that this practice is very widespread. Alternate modes of sexual activity, e.g. oral sex, are apparently not consciously used to prevent conception.

Although coitus interruptus is generally felt to be a reliable method with a trusted partner, other mechanical means of contraception do not approach the popularity of the pill. The IUD is infrequently prescribed for women under the rationale from the health department that they are unsuited to nulliparous women because "there isn't room

enough in there to shove them in." When it was pointed out that the new CU-7 seemed to be quite effective for nulliparas, they were rejected as being too expensive (The Lippes Loop is generally used in the county health department clinics, and it is indeed unsuited for adolescent use).

Foam is occasionally used but the diaphragm is almost unheard of, possibly because these methods require paraphenalia that is difficult to conceal and may be embarrassing for a sexually unsophisticated young woman to use in the presence of her partner.

Many girls are largely unaware of the existence of many of these devices and are unfamiliar with their use. One girl had heard of something "you insert--like a little round thing, maybe plastic or something" and thought it was either a suppository or a diaphragm. Another described a "thing that goes in that has long wires attached to a round thing that will deform a baby if you have it put in when you're already pregnant."

Contraceptive services are available in the community from the private sector and through the county health department and the university based family planning project which is held once a month in the health department facilities. These clinical services are free to anyone at risk of pregnancy but there is a punitive attitude on the part of the County Health Department. For example, during the field period, the health department had been provided with free condoms which they dispersed in a niggardly fashion in order not to deplete the supply.

Services can be offered to pre-adult clients confidentially without parental consent on assumption that sexual activity constitutes a condition of medical risk for the adolescent woman [See Appendix 4]. The local health department practice, however, is to require parental consent before issuing contraceptive services to adolescent girls.

Exceptions to this rule are girls who have undergone treatment for venereal disease, a prevalent and increasingly serious hazard of adolescent sexuality, or who have already borne a child or been pregnant. Hence, girls who have an access to another source of contraceptive acquisition, e.g. can afford to consult a private physician or have the transportation to seek clinical services outside the community, prefer to avoid the health department.

The majority of girls, to whom secrecy from their parents and other adults is of paramount importance, do not trust the ability of the nurses at the health department to treat them with the confidentiality they desire. The clientele of the health department clinics tend to represent the lower socioeconomic segments of the adolescent population. Girls who become pregnant and who cannot afford to leave the community must go through their clinics for their prenatal care.

Lack of utilization of existing medical services also affects pregnancies after the fact. Girls who suspect that they may be pregnant will delay seeking professional confirmation of this fact as long as it is possible. Often the fact becomes obvious with the passage of time, but the girl will conceal her pregnancy as long as possible, particularly in cases where she has no expectations of marriage.

Marriage to the male who is responsible for the girl's impregnation is the optimum and usual solution to the predicament in the case of white females and differs from the black pattern in which the baby is absorbed into the family. Adoption is the alternative solution most favored when marriage is precluded by circumstances such as the father's being unknown or unwilling to marry the girl--a relatively rare occurrence.

Leaving the community for the period extending from before the girl begins to show and ending with delivery, is, of course, preferable if the family can afford to maintain the girl away from home or have kin who are willing to house the girl for the duration. Occasionally the two involved families decide the fate of the couple and share the financial burden.

Girls continue their education in many cases, either switching to the vocational-technical school or to night classes or temporarily dropping out and resuming school after the resolution of the pregnancy. Girls from the higher income families generally can drop out and resume school later without penalty of failing as their grades are usually such that can tolerate a lengthy absence from school. However, girls with high educational aspirations rarely become pregnant and enter sexual liaisons less frequently. The schools are legally obliged to offer the pregnant schoolgirl her choice of attending day classes or switching to night classes or the vocational school, but in fact, the counseling process subtly influences the girl to opt out of regular classes.

Adolescent lore about pregnancy is gleened in part from the folk medical lore extant in the larger community. For example, a young pregnant girl advanced the theory that if the mother raised her arms it could raise the cord around the baby's neck, strangling it. She was appalled to learn that the University Teaching Hospital had advised therapy "that could kill the baby" by directing mothers to raise their arms and extend their legs. During pregnancy, women should not gain much weight or eat salt and should avoid such things as diving into pools or other exertion.

Abortion is believed to be rarely sought as a solution to the dilemma although it is more easily concealed from the peer group than a continuing pregnancy or prolonged absence from school. Hence, information about abortions may be more a part of the information networks of the adults and hidden from adolescents. Reasons for the unpopularity of abortions derive from the relatively late confirmation of pregnancy, lack of information about the procedure and its availability, and a pervasive religious ethic which not only forbids abortions as "unnatural" but often calls for the continuation of the pregnancy as a form of deserved punishment for inappropriate initiation of sexual relations.

This is not only the sphere about which the least information can be ferretted out by a researcher, but is the area of least knowledge among adolescents. Girls do not know how they would go about seeking an abortion, despite the fact that the yellow pages of the local telephone directory included advertising for an abortion clinic in a nearby city. They have no conception of the expense, medical risk, and nature of the procedure, optimal phase of the pregnancy, and time involved in obtaining an abortion. They profess almost unanimously that it would not be considered if they were to become pregnant for reasons that it would be sinful and murderous.

After marriage, adoption is the most common solution to the problem of the teenaged unwed mother. Cathy, a pretty 16 year old, was one of only two married girls attending the high school during the period of field research. Thomas, her 17 year old husband, attended the vocational school. Both had jobs, Thomas at a boxing plant and Cathy at a fast food restaurant. They married shortly after giving up their baby for adoption.

Cathy and Thomas began dating when she was 13 years old and began having sexual relations after they had been going steady for about six months. Thomas at fourteen was already sexually experienced although Cathy was a virgin, and he pressured her to let him "express his love." They made love the first time in Thomas' house during his parents' absence but afterward would go into his room to have sex while his mother was home despite Cathy's embarrassment.

They formed a pattern of making love two or three times each month and Thomas would either use a condom or "he could just tell," i.e. would withdraw before ejaculation. Cathy asked her mother about birth control during this time but was told it was "sinful," consequently Cathy exposed herself to pregnancy. Cathy believes that she conceived on the occasion of spending a night with Thomas. In the morning, Thomas told her that he could tell she was pregnant because "they were both real tired." When Cathy later began experiencing morning sickness, Thomas insisted on taking her to the health department to confirm their suspicions and then informed her parents so that they wouldn't think he was the type to "run out on her." Cathy's mother had become pregnant with Cathy when she was 15 years old and on hearing that Cathy had repeated her history, began to beat Cathy saying that since Cathy had ruined her mother's life, she would ruin Cathy's. Cathy's grandmother, the matriarch of the family, suggested to Cathy that she should ride her horse until she lost the baby and thus avoid causing the family so much trouble.

In the end, Cathy was sent to a home for unwed mothers in a nearby city and told by her mother to place the baby up for adoption. Upon consideration, she decided that she and Thomas were not mature enough

to raise the baby and gave it up. Cathy and Thomas wrote a narrative about their thoughts and love for the baby to be left with the adoptive parents.

Cathy and Thomas decided to marry afterwards and went to live with her mother. Cathy worried about asking if she and Thomas could share a room but her mother said that she knew they "did such things because you don't have a baby by just looking at each other." Cathy believes she made the right decision, although she is sad about giving up the baby. She regrets most that they had to give up "Thomas' first child" and felt that it was very hard on him. Thomas admitted in confidence, however, that he had in fact already fathered two babies to two different girls, one who had aborted and one who kept the baby.

Although among the black girls in the community it is common to keep the baby and raise it in the extended family, this is not as common among white girls. Wanda was a girl who was unsuccessful in marrying the father of her child. Wanda was a good student with plans to go to college. She did not date a great deal but began going steady with Butch during her junior year and shortly afterwards began having sexual relations with him. She did not know anything about contraception and believed him when he told her that he "would take care of things." However, soon she discovered that she had become pregnant. When she told Butch, he stopped seeing her and refused to "own up." When Wanda's parents attempted to coerce Butch into marriage, he countered by saying that all of his friends would swear that they had also had relations with her so that paternity would be uncertain.

Wanda decided to have her baby and keep it with her mother's help. They share the childcare responsibilities and Wanda returned to school.

Wanda earned the respect of her teachers and friends, but has been able to retain very little of her former social life and has had to reevaluate her educational goals.

Girls with babies tend to be left out of the adolescent social arena, e.g. they were not allowed to attend dances, and are in effect, removed from the sight of their peers. Thus, girls who are sexually active or planning to initiate sexual activity are not presented with negative role models.

Sexual deviance is covert in Strawberry Junction. The threshold for tolerating such behavior is low and it is generally not spoken of. When alternative modes of sexual expression occur, they are often justified as resulting from special circumstances or are overlooked because the persons involved are socially innocuous in other respects. Social control over sexual expression is exerted in relatively subtle ways.

Homosexuality appears to be rare in Strawberry Junction. Lesbianism is more acceptable than male homosexuality and a pair of women school teachers and their children live together openly. That men of the community engage in this behavior is strongly denied as homosexual relations are especially repugnant to "manly" men. White men believe this practice is more widespread among members of the black community. Its pervasiveness in the prison is legendary and reference to the prisoner's "man-girlfriends" is a recurring yet unfailing source of amusement to Junctionites.

Transsexualism surfaced in the community during the research period when a local boy returned as a woman from a sojourn in California. This person was often seen around town in the company of his mother and,

although shocking to the townspeople, was also the butt of local humor, especially to the community's adolescents whose own identity seeking was by no means completed.

There were well-known community figures whose sexual predilections were tolerated with more or less amusement according to the nature of their bent. For example, an otherwise normal and respected man was known to be fond of appearing at his window nude to invite the neighborhood ladies in for a cup of tea. His vagaries were known to be relatively harmless, consequently, newcomers and children were warned against abetting his game but his unusual behavior was otherwise politely ignored. Another citizen preferred to go to the playground, disrobe, and play on the swings--again, once spotted, he would be taken away and asked to dress but would elicit no particular notice.

A prominent citizen of the community presented more serious problem by his pedophilic tendencies. Over a period of years he had been in the habit of giving young girls a ride home from school and coercing them enroute into disrobing and allowing him to fondle them. As he usually confined himself to a young relative, his kin attempted to control his behavior by keeping their children out of reach. His activities were quite well-known in the community and it was not until late in his career as a pedophile that his family threatened him with criminal charges should he continue to molest his young nieces and cousins.

Incest, of which this case of pedophilia is a variant, is reported by community officials from the police, schools, social service agencies, churches, and health department to be only too common. There is increasing evidence that sexual abuse of children

is more widespread than physical abuse (National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect 1978).

Examples of incest come to light when a girl confesses to an adult outside her family, often a teacher. Investigation of the report may follow but, according to community persons in positions to deal with these incidents, the results are often unsatisfactory. For example a father had been in the habit of sleeping with his daughters as a means of "disciplining" them according to his interpretation of the teachings of the bible as shifted through his fundamentalist Protestant emic grid. The youngest daughter had broken down during school and revealed something of her home life to ther teacher. During the investigation, it became clear that her mother had been aware of the father's sexual relations with their daughters. When queried about why she did not intervene on her daughters' behalf, she responded that she didn't care for his incestuous practices but that "...he was a good man in every other way."

It is interesting to note that community officials seldom discover issue from these incestuous unions, prompting the speculation that because of risk of social censure and criminal prosecution, men may take exceptional care in protecting their daughters from pregnancy at least, if not from other consequences such as psychological trauma. The possibility of pregnancy exists in that while many father-daughter relationships appear to begin before physical maturation of the girl, they continue after the girl could conceive.

Prostitution is reported to be available in Strawberry Junction. Black women are known to service mainly white men but white women do not ordinarily accept black clients. Prostitutes commonly seek out recent prison releasees and during the reserach period, police were

attempting to close down a local drive-in restaurant which was doubling as a bordello.

Adults in the community may turn a blind eye to selected aspects of community life in Strawberry Junction, notably adolescent sexual activity. While most parents extol the small town ambience for raising children, many recognize that the community also has its unwholesome side. For example, the father of a 15 year old daughter voiced his reservations about a possible adverse influence on his child, "I would like to get her out of town because it's a bad town...full of gangsters. There's lots of stolen cars and drugs and the police don't care. Why the police and some other prominent people in the town are just as crooked themselves!"

Adolescents of Strawberry Junction frequently are involved in some kind of criminal activity, ranging from relatively trivial acts to ones with serious consequences. Adults of the community treat much of the adolescent destructive behavior lightly, enjoying rumors of outrageous behavior from their young men, but are less tolerant of deviance among young women. It is mostly when activities become too flagrant to ignore that action is taken on the adolescent high-jinks. Tolerance for felonies is much lower; property damage and theft are regarded as more personally injurious than actions which cause bodily harm.

Vandalism is probably the most common offense. Young men cruising around town drinking as they go, may "show out" for cruising girls by throwing their empties at windows. When driving outside the town, signs give opportunities for target practice. The police are seldom roused to action in cases like these unless they receive complaints from citizens or have a personal grudge against a particular youngster.

For example, several boys aged 15 and 16 were out cruising around in the new truck of one of the boys, a preacher's son. They had been drinking and hitting all the known rendezvous sites, but, finding no action they began to get restless. As they passed the local nursery, they got the idea to steal some bushes to put on a friend's porch as a joke. They complete the heist and were driving away when a policeman saw the shrubs in the truck and stopped them for questioning. The outcome was that they were taken to juvenile court and placed on probation for a year. All the boys were extremely bitter about being punished for "just a little joke" and were convinced that the policeman, who had been "dogging" one of the boys, was acting out of personal venom.

Another episode of vandalism occurred without reprimand. An elderly woman of the community who had a house in town, kept a parrot on her porch. Townspeople respected and liked the woman and her bird was something of a community legend, having been the old woman's pet for more than fifty years and calling many people by their names as they walked by. One day, the parrot and the cage were missing from the porch, much to the distress of the elderly woman. The bird was discovered a week later, dead in a vacant lot. Two adolescent boys bragged that they had taken it and killed it. The local opinion of this act was that it was sad for the old person, but after all, "boys will be boys" and must be expected to be interested in killing animals.

In addition to these relatively mild forms of criminal or quasi-criminal acts, the community provided the livelihood for a good many petty criminals who engaged in breaking and entering, selling drugs, and rustling, and so forth. The police were aware of the identities of most of these young men and their friends and periodically arrested them

as their activites became too much of a nuisance. Often the police would manipulate the social network to produce evidence to incriminate their chosen suspect.

Donna and Richard were a young couple whose relationship began in the early part of their adolescence and whose tenuous relationship had survived into their young adulthood. They existed on money gleaned from several sources: welfare, family doles, and gains from Richard's "B and E" hauls (breaking and entering). At the juncture when Donna became an informant for this study, the police had enveigled her into providing evidence against Richard so that he could be "cooled" temporarily.

Donna began "going" with Richard when she was 14 and he was 16. Donna's parents did not approve of Richard, presuming him to be "no good." Richard was the baby of his family and his three older sisters had spoiled him. His father had left the family when Richard was young and later died in prison where he was sent for moonshining.

Donna was a virgin when she and Richard became lovers. This was advantageous for her because Richard preferred to seduce young virgins exclusively in order that "he can get it first before anyone else has got it," thus avoiding venereal disease. Once "others start comin' around, he don't want it after that." Donna's parents broke up the relationship by tricking her into going to West Florida. Richard became upset by her leaving and landed in jail shortly afterwards.

The reason for being jailed was unclear but related to Richard's being "on needles" (using herion). Richard had difficulties while in jail according to Donna, because he had her name tatooed on his wrist and was teased continually about her fickleness during this time. Richard was said to "worship the ground (Donna) walked on" and blamed

all his subsequent troubles on stemming from Donn's leaving him.

Donna returned to Strawberry Junction and began seeing Eddie and became pregnant by him. They married and she bore his daughter when she was 15. They moved away but then returned to Strawberry Junction and Donna began "seeing Richard everywhere," and soon took up with him again. This ruined her marriage and she lost custody of her daughter. She initially saw the daughter every weekend but Eddie took her away and Donna hasn't seen her in two years.

Richard pressed Donna into having another baby and after she was pregnant, revealed that he had sired a baby with another girl but it was a daughter and he only wanted a son. He told Donna that if she bore a son they would marry, but that if it were a girl, he would leave her. Donna's baby was a boy whom Richard "dotes on," but as yet they have not married although they currently live together in a run-down old house.

Richard's pattern is to "do a job" (burglarize a small store or house), peddle the stolen merchandise to a fence, and go on a spree with the money, often spending it carousing with his buddies on a weekend binge. He gives Donna no money for the household expenses or for her personal use and she has to support them with welfare aid.

Richard often beats Donna up and tears up her things in a rage. Donna says this "hurts worse than a beating." After the last time Donna and Richard fought, the police played on Donna's feelings and persuaded her to reveal where some of his stolen goods were so that Richard could be jailed.

Donna would like to leave Richard as she is afraid of him, but he told her he would never allow it. She is also worried about making it on her own, despite the fact that Richard does not contribute to her upkeep, as she did not finish high school and can't get a good job. She is on a three year probation for passing bad checks. While Richard is in jail, she plans to move in with some girls she knows who "nest here and nest there and get money from the men or from welfare."

Donna and girls like her may adopt criminal behavior to help maintain their tenuous lifestyle. Income is uncertain and sporadic forays into crime, e.g. forging checks, produce needed and relatively trouble-free sources of money. Certain more common types of behavior that girls engage in are also illegal but are rarely defined as such in social terms. Sexual relations among girls who have not reached the age of consent ("jail bait") are in fact illegal, for example, but incidences of legal action taken against either partner in these cases is rare. One such occurrence was spoken of during field research and the consensus was that other factors had been catalytic in forming the case.

In addition, drinking, possession of drugs, and driving without a license also represent illegal but common modes of adolescent behavior which are ignored by both community adults and police unless the flouting of authority exceeds tolerable local limits. However, shoplifting is thought to be the most common form of crime among adolescent girls. The physical configuration and management of the Strawberry Junction shops facilitate this practice to some degree. Most stores are relatively small and the often crowded arrangement of

merchandise obscures the view. Even the larger department stores are sparsely manned by sales personnel so that spotting shoplifters is more difficult than in a sophisticated large store having a large sales and security staff. Even if caught it is seldom a matter for the police but is handled between the adults concerned with the matter--store personnel and the parents.

The ease with which these furtive operations are executed has prompted girls to attempt shoplifting in setting where the chances of success were minimal and the consequences much more serious. An unfortunate incident occurred during a visit to a nearby tourist attraction when several adolescent girls shoplifted some bracelets from a souvenir shop and were caught in the act. The chaperone for the trip was able to persuade the shopowner not to prosecute, but the girls were severely humiliated and their parents were contacted.

Action by the police was taken to shut down a small youth center in the center of town because its activities became too flagrant. Ostensibly a gathering place for young teens to play pin ball machines, shoot pool, and listen to records, it actually was a nexus for drug traffic with suspicions of teen prostitution and fencing of stolen goods. The center operated approximately a year before the police closed it although its activities were monitored during its operation.

Individual action was resorted to in cases where private interests of the adult community were at stake, e.g. matters of "honor." When the behavior of a young person threatened to go beyond the line, police might issue a timely if unofficial warning or community adults might devise their own strategem. An interesting example of this form of informal social control presented itself when a young man--a stranger--came to town and began preying on young virgins. The townspeople are

extremely insular and protective of their own kind and those adults who were aware of the young man's activities were alarmed. Because he was handsome and charming in the manner of a young Lothario, the newcomer was having considerable success seducing young girls when these adults were goaded into action. They arranged for one of the parents, a social worker and mother of several children, to talk to the young man on behalf of all and suggest that he might shortly like a change of scene. The alternative, she sweetly told him, was to be taken out to the woods where both of his knees would be broken. If he were still unconvinced of the error of his ways, she implied that castration was not out of the question. Being a reasonable person, he left the town.

CHAPTER VII DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Kantner and Zelnik (1972:19) surveyed sexual experience of young unmarried women and reported findings indicative "that premarital intercourse is beginning at younger ages and that its extent among teenagers is increasing." Cutright (1972:30) "suggests that the image of an abstinent past and a promiscuous present is highly exaggerated," asserting that rising illegitimacy rates more accurately reflect changes in fecundity levels due to lowered menarche and lowered rates of spontaneous abortion which function to make sexual activity more visible if not actually more prevalent.

Visibility of adolescent sexual activity is similar to the blind men's assessment of the elephant--community residents tend to regard it from their own perspectives. Thus, to key community figures such as teachers, the problem is of significant proportions, to parents of a "good" or at least "uncaught" daughter it is something that may occasionally happen to someone else but which can safely be ignored; and to the mother of a pregnant school girl who can't identify the father it may assume tremendous proportions. A realistic assessment is a compromise between these views: school officials estimate that five to ten percent of school girls in the middle and high school become pregnant each year and these represent the tip of the iceberg of sexually active adolescents.

To the outside observer, adolescents in Strawberry Junction appear to be "a group of restless, frequently alienated rebellious teenagers

who compulsively reach out for premature sexual experience where their partners are strangers or very recent acquaintances and where no meaningful relationship with the sex partner is sought" (Gianturco 1974:415). Part of the explanation of this behavior resides in the nature of the inter-generational interaction. Adolescents in the community are granted few opportunities to relate cross-generationally. This results in part from the need of adolescents to create a separate domain which is "not always or explicitly anti-adult but...belligerently non-adult" (Demos and Demos 1969:637) in order to establish an identity, but relates more specifically to the abdication of adults of responsibility for shaping the adolescent sphere and thus allowing a bona fide adolescent culture to develop (Deschin 1969). In effect, the generations have evolved an "unstated gentleman's agreement that...neither will interfere with the other" (Keniston 1962:156).

The tacit refusal of parents to serve as templates in the apprenticing process that adolescence should represent has lessened the influence of the peer group and denigrated the credibility of adults, a characterization which is reinforced by the media, particularly television, via depiction of adults without the notion of experientially acquired wisdom (Rosenblatt 1976). This pedocentric rendering of the parent-teenager relationship easily extends to undermining adult values and elevating the values of children, which further cements the peer networks as the primary source of value orientation. Abdication of adult responsibilities is primarily an American phenomenon with no documentation of cross-cultural prominence. Moreover, contrary to American beliefs, primary orientation to the peer group as a means of achieving adult identity during the adolescent self-searching process,

is by no means indispensable (Goodman 1970).

Adolescents in the community appear to desire interactions within their families and from among the larger community but have difficulties in identifying appropriate persons on whom to focus their companionate needs. The social system of separating children, adolescents and adults from each other does not facilitate these exchanges. Experiences of teachers and other key community figures support the contention that young people would welcome more direct role modeling relationships with adults whom they could respect.

The abdication of parental responsibilities has a direct relationship to adolescent sexual activity. Community adults do not provide diversion for the young people, but allow them to create their own recreational patterns. Most parents in the community believe that small-town life is more wholesome, thus preferable to life in bigger, more sophisticated cities and were harsh in their criticism of moderately sized, relatively innocuous, nearby towns. In doing so, they overlooked a major advantage of larger communities, namely, that diversion is offered through increased activities made possible through the larger, more varied population and relatively greater resources. It was within the scope of Strawberry Junction to provide more recreational opportunities for their young persons but not within their cultural pattern to do so. Thus, adolescents in the context of the rural south seem to have a higher degree of autonomy than they do in more urban contexts, i.e. they have less parental supervision, nevertheless, they do not have full adult status or responsibilities and thus are in a liminal phase. The community presents itself as "...a society so drab that sex seems to the young to be the only adventure with any magic in it. When sex turns out to be

merely sex, the young flee to more of the same elsewhere--and they play games with, among other things, automobiles and razor blades" (Vonnegut 1974:119).

The most serious consequence of the lack of inter-generational relations is that young people are left to founder in their emotional and psycho-sexual maturation when they might be provided with guidelines to aid them in the decisions that must shortly be made affecting the outcome of their lives, e.g. mate selection. Findings in Strawberry Junction indicate that the sexual knowledge base is insufficient to enable adolescents to effectively control their fertility. The community does not provide sexual instructions to its adolescent portion because sexuality is deemed inappropriate behavior for this group. In middle class American culture, sexual activity is reserved for those in authority, the legally-defined adults (Gadpaille 1970), who may fear the imagined or real sexuality of adolescents and place stronger sanctions on this behavior even than on illegitimate bearing of children because of the potential for adult power to be usurped, and role definitions blurred (cf. Bernstein 1966, Chilman 1979).

Observations of Samoan young girls (Mead 1928) yielded the information that sexual experience is regarded as a natural element of total life experiences. Girls observe adult sexuality in natural settings, and are not stultified in their personal experimentation. No information is withheld or deemed "unfit" for young persons, consequently the transition from maiden to matron in terms of sexual flowering is accomplished naturally and without trauma.

Americans in general, and rural southerners in particular, do not recognize the necessity for a period of learning and development of

sexual technique prior to assumption of a full, legally and socially sanctioned sexual life:

"The problem areas in our cultural attitudes toward adolescent sexuality focus more upon sexual behavior than reproduction. If this were not so, society would welcome the technological ability to prevent conception during the adolescent period, instead of regarding it as a dangerous source of unleashed sexuality". (Cadpaille 1970:480).

Parents cloak sexual matters in secrecy, relying on religious tenets to squelch experimentation. "A host of ill-digested fragmentary conceptions of life and death will fester in the inexperienced mind and provide a fertile field for the later growth of unfortunate attitudes" (Mead 1928:158). Thus, they deliver their children into adolescence and young adulthood ill-equipped for decision-making. This strategy may have been functional in times when girls were kept under strict chaperonage before being given over to an arranged marriage. In terms of social evolution, maintaining adolescent "innocence" prior to marriage is a vestigial social construct without the seclusion which protected adolescents of yore from certain of the consequences of untutored and clandestine--or perhaps pointedly unseen--sexual activity. If as Mead (1928) suggests that parental permissiveness and openness concerning sexual matters minimizes psycho-social trauma during the developmental phase, it is reasonable to suspect that the reverse is also true and that needless problems are incurred via this zealous prudery.

Parents decline to furnish children with useful and realistic information about the nature of human sexual drives and range of expression and prefer to think that their refusal to discuss this tabooed and mystical subject coupled with admonishment for their "shameful" curiosity will make adolescents feel too guilty to pursue the information they seek, and in fact, need to deal with the realities of

their lives. What in fact happens is that adolescents seek this information from other sources: pornographic magazines, television and movies. Interestingly, according to informant reports, adolescents do not utilize potential sources of accurate information which is readily available to them, namely encyclopedias and other reference books in the school and public libraries, nor are they aware of the type of accessible information sources referenced in the local telephone directory.

"Perhaps the most important source of sex information is other adolescents because due to the closed communications between generations, communication networks are largely peer-oriented. Thus, as "most children's games are not taught to the child by adults but by slightly older children, the same holds for patterns of adolescent love-making" (Linton 1942:591).

While boys are socialized to regard sexual experimentation as part of the male role and tacitly encouraged to acquire experience, actual information exchange between fathers and sons is minimal and between mothers and sons, unthinkable. Boys are less likely to seek advice on sexual matters from "experts" (Gross 1978) and even information exchange between peers may be oriented more directly toward scoring ego points in the peer group, i.e. a way of achieving rank rather than disseminating information.

Girls appear to be more concerned with content in their informational networks, probably because they assess the consequences to the female partner in the sexual dyad as more serious. Girls rely on boys for advice concerning both sexual and contraceptive technique (Furstenberg 1973), but their major sources of information appear to be from same-sex peers, especially those who are slightly older, married, or believed to

be sexually active. Same-sex siblings are important sources of information and have the advantage of being on an easy relational footing that minimizes the embarrassment of curiosity; cross-sex siblings are also utilized in this manner but less frequently.

Although promiscuity has been found to be less when sex information is gleaned from legitimate sources, e.g. parents or teacher-counselors, and when this information is personalized (Deschin 1961) seeking sex information from peers is functional in that it reduces generational conflict in systems where adolescent sexual activity is socially proscribed (Lo Piccolo 1973). The obvious and serious consequences, however, is that the informational content of peer sex exchanges is subject to distortion as it is processed out of theories derived intuitively, irrationally, and experientially rather than representing accurate factual input. Unfortunately, the remedy for this situation is not clear owing to the nature of information extant in the adult peer group. Inquiry into parental notions concerning human sexuality, reproductive physiology, and contraceptive technique suggested that adults acquired the bulk of their information from their peer group when they were adolescents and have not greatly enlarged their knowledge since, despite contact with medical personnel via childbearing and the pragmatics of married sexual activity. Unfortunately, adults equate experience with knowledge; they have little conception of the breach between knowing how to engage in the physical gyrations that constitute the sex act and the physiological processes that account for sex drive and the reproductive cycle. Their prudery is generated partly from the guilt-and-shame doctrines of their religion, and partly from their ignorance and lack of sophistication. Were they to shed their prudish reluctance to discuss

sex with their children, in all likelihood, they would have nothing to say.

Nominal input originates from institutional sources such as schools and public health personnel. The case of a young girl who asked the health department to confirm a suspected pregnancy is a graphic example of how information is withheld. She became so hysterical at the prospect of an invading speculum that it became obvious that she had never been penetrated, hence could not be expected to be pregnant. No attempt was made by health department medical personnel to discover upon what basis she felt she might be pregnant or to explain the relationship of sexual intercourse to pregnancy. Teachers and guidance counselors are restricted in the kind of information they can extend to teenagers and the hands of the School Board of Education are tied due to the vehemence of community parents with respect to the inclusion of sex education in the schools. Ministers have voiced concern and some have expressed interest in providing church leadership, but again, the community parents stand solidly against outsiders interfering in parental concerns. They want to insure that another's values are not imposed upon their children, and in so doing, provide them with sexual moralizing in the home but few facts.

Because of this climate, adolescents are unable to contracept effectively in a void of information. "Possibly the most ineffective contraceptors are sexually active teenagers who have never been married and, if female, never been pregnant" (Presser 1974:8). Girls rely on such artifacts of the contraceptive lore as being unable to conceive if they only have intercourse once or if they wash themselves carefully (Chowning 1969). Additionally, adolescents have been described as having a sense of personal invulnerability to disaster and have difficulty believing they could become seriously ill or die or become pregnant (Cvetkovich et al.

1975). Girls in Strawberry Junction attempt to contracept in as rational a fashion as possible within their knowledge limitations (Luker 1975), but have little real hope that one can be sexually active without eventually becoming pregnant. They view their chances of conceiving as "cumulative across incidents of intercourse rather than being independent" (Cvetkovich et al. 1975:264).

The excessive modesty of girls is counter-productive to becoming effective contraceptors-- they exclaim in horror at the thought that they should look at or feel their partner's penis to confirm use of a condom and are equally repulsed at handling their own genitals or allowing their partner to insert diaphragm or foam. Medical services, though available in the community, are shunned out of ignorance or due to fear of exposure, hence ethno-contraceptive practices must be relied upon.

Choice of sexual partners is distinctive in Strawberry Junction. Young girls pair off with older men of the community and adults in the parental generation place few restrictions on this seduction of their daughters. Social occasions are not carefully age-graded and the school boundaries imperfectly defined. Patterns of incestuous activities, mainly of the father-daughter dyad, are frequently reported and are believed by both adolescents and community leaders to account for a significant amount of sexual initiation.

The reasons for the extent of sexual activity among adolescents are complex and probably related more closely to role definition in the rural south and to the life cycle formation of social hierarchy. "Still more than being an end in itself, sexuality can be used to serve all manner of non-sexual ends" (Gadpaille 1970:479).

Because of the male orientation of the rural south, women are "trained from childhood to yield to the authority of a dominant voice, to blend all of their energies to please the more vulnerable egotism of a dominant person" (Mead 1935), and the definition of the male role pervades social construct and defines the female role as a compliment to it. Aggression and violence thus become central cultural themes. Boys take risks, drink and smoke to symbolize adult male status (Harrison 1978), and "social indices reveal an accelerating tendency toward heightened aggression in adolescent boys" (Hamburg and Hamburg 1975:96). Hagen (1962:68) further suggests that the "simple folk of most, if not all traditional societies find satisfaction in being aggressive when they dare rather than resorting to aggression in case of necessity".

Sex represents an arena of risk and daring and is used to define and establish masculinity. Initiation of sexual activity thus becomes a significant rite de passage into adulthood in the assessment of adolescent boys. Males take the sexual initiative and are orgasm-oriented, whereas "sexually active females are likely to espouse the traditional female role, saying they participated in intercourse because the male expected it" (Chilman 1979:137). Even though males are believed to have greater sex drives than women, the intrinsically sexual nature of their behavior is open to question:

It is not uncommon for men to seek rewards that lie outside the relationship itself. Early in adolescence, most boys recognize that success is not sexual "scoring" in the parked car, but describing real or imagined sexual exploits to a group of teenage cronies the next day or even the same night at a local drive-in. Thus the sexual partner becomes a mere instrumentality used by boys to achieve status in the eyes of those who really count, the male peer group (Gross 1978:94).

Just as sexual exploits define the masculine role and may indicate advancement to adult male status, impregnating a girl is the proof of

virility. Thus is is not a totally undesired outcome of sexual liaisons for young men.

Girls also can be seen as having motives extrinsic to sexual desire. There is evidence that adolescent girls are less orgasmic than older women (Chilman 1979). Girls in this study seem driven to achieve ends other than orgasm or sexual stimulation, indeed may persist in their activities despite physical pain, and on inquiry, do not relate having "got much of anything" out of the sex act. Clearly, their motives relate to achieving rank in the peer hierarchy and to protest against their later circumscribed roles as wives and mothers. For girls, entrance into sexual life also represents an important rite de passage but it is transition from childhood to adolescence not adulthood. Adolescence represents a time apart for girls during which they have license that will not come again.

The transition from girl to woman is distinguished by a degree of female aggressiveness that is anomalous in the behavioral repertoire of the adult woman. Girls are not merely aggressive sexually but also engage in fights with other girls. Expression of sexuality is allowed if not overtly recognized by the community at large. The behavior of the adolescent female is analogous to male aggressive behavior as manifested in the machismo system. This female aggressiveness is a feature of transition that exists in protest, as it were, against the restrictions which will all to soon be imposed upon them at marriage. Marriage is defined as the entree into adult life and because it defines female status, but it is also recognized to be somewhat onerous: a young married woman was surprised to discover that an acquaintance was much older than she, but immediately attributed her friend's youthful appearance to the fact that

she was divorced. When pressed for an explanation, she replied that the divorcee "didn't have the wear and tear of marriage."

This male-mimicking role fades after marriage at which point covert expression of female aggressiveness more appropriate. Manipulative tactics are employed and the role of the southern woman begins to parallel the Latin *mraianismo* as the compliment to the dominant male (Stevens 1973).

Sadly, sexual expression among adolescents is often a substitute for affection, especially for young girls. Girls who really want physical affection and attention, e.g. hugs and hand-holding, find it easier to accede to a boy's sexual importunings for intercourse in hopes of being held and talked to.

Pregnancies are usually the unplanned outcome of sexual activity. The search for special motivation may reveal some females who consciously try to become pregnant but it generally overlooks many more who only wanted to enjoy sexual relations and never thought they could or would become pregnant in the process" (Furstenberg 1973:193).

Precocious pregnancies are facilitated by the social context of the southern rural community as represented by Strawberry Junction. Female role expectations include early marriage and motherhood; girls begin mothering at an early age by being given responsibility for younger siblings or children of older siblings. Few girls expect to prepare themselves for a vocation other than wife and seldom come into contact with an adult woman who can serve as an alternative role model to that of wife-mother. If pregnancy occurs it is perceived as precocious rather than tragic since it merely starts the girl earlier in the role that is her culturally prescribed destiny.

The purpose of the study was to provide contextual information about adolescent sexuality that is rarely documented in existing studies and to shed light upon a population that is not well-understood in terms of sexual and contraceptive behavior. The following represent findings of the study in order of their significance in understanding the behavior of white rural adolescent women.

Sexual relations are an important element of adolescent life in Strawberry Junction and begin early in adolescence. Boys appear to have intercourse earlier than girls who report their initial coitus around fifteen years of age. This cannot be taken as the average age for beginning sexual relations but rather is when the informants who were sexually active said they were initiated. Girls report beginning non-coital sexual activity ranging from hand-holding and kissing to heavy petting (petting which stops just short of coitus) in the last year of elementary school and in the middle school (grades six, seven and eight).

Expression is different for young men and women. Although girls may be aggressive sexually, their motives do not seem to be intrinsically sexual, i.e. they do not report a great degree of sexual satisfaction in their relations, but are oriented toward social goals. Thus sex relations may be seen as a rite de passage for girls to enter the adolescent social hierarchy.

Male sexuality in the same age group is orgasm-oriented but also is used as a determinant in male peer group social ranking. Because virility is an essential attribute of adult masculinity, entrance into the sexual life functions as a male rite de passage into adulthood.

For girls, sexual expression may substitute for affection. Rural southerners, while given to blandishing casual endearments, e.g. addressing

even strangers as "honey" or "sugar," do not readily display physical affection, even to children, and have minimal interaction with adolescents. Thus, adolescents are driven to peer contact to satisfy their companionate needs. To many girls, engaging in sexual relations may present an avenue towards receiving physical affection rather than a direct desire for sexual stimulation. Unfortunately, it is easier to achieve coitus than elicit a hug and friendly interest in their personal concerns.

Adolescents are ineffective contraceptors. Their information base is gleaned mainly from peers whom they often incorrectly judge to be sexual "experts," and through experiences. As a result, their contraceptive technique relies heavily upon folk practices and situational expediency. They seldom seek advice from medical or social agency personnel because of their lack of awareness of the need to do so, the difficulty of assessing services, and their fear of exposure and subsequent censure. Experience with community care givers, e.g. county health department personnel, confirms that privacy is not well-maintained.

Intergenerational interaction is minimized in the community. Adolescent social rings are autonomous from adult networks. This generational insularity is maintained as much if not more by the parental group as by the adolescents to a degree that parents and other adults of the community can be said to have abdicated their responsibility as role models. Adolescents exhibit the desire to achieve closer relations to adults, especially in terms of sexual advice, but are refused. By refusing to educate teens, yet allowing them social autonomy, parents covertly allow sexual activity among adolescents while overtly condemning it.

Adults neglect their responsibility for sexual instruction of teens, voicing moral strictures only. The reasons for this lapse are threefold. First, religious convictions against extra-marital sexual expression tend to make adults reluctant to discuss sexuality from a pragmatic point of view hence they confine any discussion to the moral implications of this behavior. Second, working class prudery about sexual and other natural physical functions inhibit information exchange. Last, and perhaps most significant, is that the parents acquired their information in much the same way that their children will be expected to--experientially and from peers, thus were the barriers of prudery and religious impediments removed, adults would still not be able to provide their children with adequate factual information to prevent inappropriate pregnancies.

Because of the nature of sex roles in the community as in the larger southern rural context, adolescence represents a period of apprenticeship for males whose teen role will be continued and amplified in adulthood. For girls, adolescence represents a period of relative deviance which will be terminated in adulthood when they assume the much more restricted roles allotted to wives and mothers. The southern rural sex role system is analogous in many respects to the Latin American machismo system. This period of female adolescent license represents a phase of "male mimicking."

The community does not provide alternate role models for girls. Marriage and childbearing are viewed as both the ultimate and proper goals. Community adolescents bear this out in that very few express an interest in continuing their education or aspire to a career. Thus precocious pregnancy is not regarded as tragic, though it may be deemed inappropriate, but rather signals an early assumption of an eventual goal.

The options for girls who become pregnant are strictly prescribed both by the religious tenets and the social structure of the community. In order of preference they are marriage, adoption, keeping the baby by the unwed mother and/or her family (with some speculation that the child will be presented to the community as a child of the parents and a sibling to the natural mother), and abortion. Abortion appears to be rare but its incidence is difficult to assess due to the extreme secrecy in which abortions are sought. The religious beliefs are strongly against both out-of-wedlock sexuality and pregnancy to the extent that abortion would be severely sanctioned were it to be discovered.

Indeed, an interesting contradiction of religious fundamentalism is that children are at one and the same time regarded as a blessing (marital issue) and a punishment for the sin of pre-marital sexuality. The value of children is thus somewhat anomalous, which is reflected in their treatment and in the way they are regarded between the generations. For example, all married persons expect and are expected to bear children, but their subsequent interaction with them is minimal. Mothers evidence a certain amount of resentment about having to bear and care for children and appear to want their daughters to repeat their life experience as a perverted way of getting even.

Choice of sexual partners is influenced by the nature of social relations between the generations. Adults do not interact socially with teens often but do not prevent relations between young girls and significantly older men. Social activities are not well-monitored or chaperoned to restrict the age range of attendees and the geographic arrangement of the schools furthers the mixing of the age groupings to the disadvantage of young girls. There is evidence that incest accounts for an appreciable

amount of sexual initiation of young girls but this study did not attempt to document the incidence of this practice.

APPENDIX I
KIDS NOT IN CLASS

Why does this Happen? The school doesn't seem to care.

In North Central County High School there is a crowd of kids that are always seen at the auditorium without being in class. I can't seem to see that this is alright for kids to skip. I am quite strongly against kids skipping, especially when they stay around school. It seems to me that the School Board could do something about these kids. The Board should have a meeting about these kids who skip, but no one seems to care about them hanging around the school. To me this skipping problem is bigger than the new trash cans and fence the School Board wants. If they would stop some of this skipping we might not need a fence.

If this does not stop it could give North Central County High School a bad reputation.

What would the other kids who go to school think if nothing happened to the one's who do wrong. So why should the kids who go to all their classes get into trouble when they skip one class. What if they stop and thought well why don't I be like those kids that you always see at the auditorium. They never seem to get into trouble so why don't they go join those kids who skip and stay around the school.

I think it should be fair if one gets in trouble for skipping why not everyone. It seems to me that if these kids don't go to class why should they be allowed to do this without getting into trouble. It seems to me that the school board could do something about this.

If I was in the school board's shoes I think they could deal with these kids who skip school in this manner. The first thing I would do was to give these kids three warnings. If that does not work I would suspend them for 2 days, then 5 days, and last time for 10 days. I would think that after the suspending was over and the kids still wanted to skip at the auditorium during class, should then be kick out of school. By this time you would know these kids don't even care about going to school, so why should they be kept in school.

I think if they did this are school would look better and not get a bad reputation. It would also not make other kids go bad. It also might help the kids to learn more self respect for the school and everyone who is there. Once the kids who are kicked out of school see how hard it is to find jobs without a high school education they might think twice. Then when they go back to school these kids who were once into trouble for skipping might never do it again.

I think this idea would work because you know and I know all kids have to learn the hard way in this day and time. So why not show them now so it won't mess up there future.

Essay written by a high school sophomore girl expressing concern about the degree of skipping among her student peers. The essay is reproduced verbatim.

APPENDIX II

1. My First Time

I laid back with a sigh as I allowed my body to relax. I put him off with one excuse after another. I always wanted to try it and now was the time. He assured me that it wouldn't hurt me. Slowly his hand touched the spot. I saw the thing he was holding. My knees grew tighter together. I opened wide to give him more room. He went in further. It seemed like a lifetime, but it was only a moment. I rose up and he brought it out. It was all red and covered with blood. I grew tense as I realized the dentist had just pulled my first tooth!

2. Never Fall in Love

A heart is not a plaything,
A heart is not a toy.
But if you want to weakin it,
Just give it to a boy.

Boys love to mess around with things,
And find out how they run.
But when it comes to kissing girls,
They'll do it just for fun.

Boys never give their hearts away,
They play girl for a fool.
They wait until the girl gives her's,
And then they playit cool.

You think when he whispers,
Darling I'll always love you.
That in his heart he means it,
And forever will be true.

But you better think it over,
And not believe it yet.
Because you see, my friend,
Heart aches are all you get.

Don't ever fall in love,
You'll find it doesn't pay.
Although it causes broken hearts,
It happens every day.

You'll wonder where he is at night,
You'll wonder if he's true.
One moment you'll be happy,
But next you'll be blue.

Then it starts, you don't know why,
You worry night and day.
You see, my friend your losing him,
It wouldn't have worked out anyway.

So when I say "Don't fall in Love"
You'll be hurt before it's through.
You see my friend I ought to know,
I fell in love with you!!!

3. Remember Me

Remember me and the fun we had,
The time we got into trouble for being bad.

The times we used to come in late,
We must have been in the hands of fate.

Remember when you asked me to go steady,
I said "yes" I thought I was ready.

Remember our summer sunshine day,
We were riding and kissing in the hay.

Remember the kisses we used to share,
The time you said you'd always care.

Remember the nights we went all the way,
Yes, you can't forget, I'm the one who has to pay.

I remember you started looking to her,
Then came out, Ann, you just didn't care.

Now I'm in a home for unwed mothers,
But why should you care, you have all the others.

I'm in the hospital, fighting the pain,
I'm hoping to keep the baby, it needs a name.

The doctor came in a few minutes ago,
He said there was trouble, he didn't know.

I found out he was telling a lie,
The nurse had to tell me, I'm going to die.

The baby they said would be alright,
But I'll probably die sometime tonight.

Before I go, there's one last lie,
Darling, I love you, take care and good-bye!

APPENDIX III

SEX EDUCATION QUESTIONS FROM A JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IN FLORIDA, 1972

1. How do you know if your pregnant? I mean, if you don't go to a doctor.
2. What time in the month do you get pregnant usually--after your period, before, during or what?
3. Can you bleed when your pregnant?
4. How do you know if you or your guy is sterile?
5. What happens to the male after sperm is passed?
6. What happens when a man and woman mate and the egg is not ready yet?
7. Is it true that women with smaller breasts enjoy sex more?
8. What's a rubber?
9. When can you make love to a girl and not get her pregnant?
10. I heard that when you screw a chick without a rubber you can kill the sperm cells by taking a cold shower. If this possible?
11. Does the foam really work? What other protection can be taken?
12. If you make it with a girl and she gets pregnant and she is a minor, can she or her parents get you busted for rape?
13. Why does reproduction take place? What age does it start?
14. What are the chances of a chick getting pregnant after you ball her?
15. What causes twins?
16. What causes a miscarriage?
17. Does the fallopian tubes take turns producing the egg cells?
18. What happens if 2 or 3 sperm cells makes its way in the egg cell?
19. Where do the extra sperm go after one enters the female cell?
20. How come some people can't have children?
21. What happens when the ovary let two eggs go?

22. During menstruation should you play baseball and climb fences? During pains what do you take or what do the doctor give you to stop pains? What should you do if you have them every 3 days? If you get very tired after you start your period, what do you do?
23. Can you have a baby before you have ever start your period? About at the age of 7 or 8 (before you start)?
24. Would a baby be deformed if two men intercouched a woman right after another?
25. How long do you have to have intercourse to make it take effect?
26. How do you know when you will start your period?
27. If you have not started your period and have had headaches and cramps for about 6 weeks or more, how much longer till you start?
28. What decides the sex of the baby?
29. What is male and male contact, and female and female contact?
30. If a woman is already pregnant and if she has another sexual intercourse, what will happen?
31. Does a diaphragm always keep a girl from getting pregnant?
32. What will happen if you ball a girl on the rag? Will she come pregnant?
33. How do you know if you get venereal disease?
34. What if the mother's organs don't function right--like before the baby's born?
35. How do they disconnect the mother from the child?
36. Is it true that if you get balled just before your period--or just after--you won't get pregnant?
37. If a guy or a girl is on speed and is hooked, can that make them sterile?
38. One of the dudes I've balled with is taking hard drugs and has been for about 5 years. If I get pregnant, would our baby be deformed? (I use drugs, too).
39. What is sperm made of?
40. Do boys have something like our periods?
41. How can you tell if you are pregnant in the first month or so?
42. When is the time for you not to get pregnant?

43. What's a diaphragm?
44. Is there a possibility that you can get pregnant without balling?
45. How do you know if you have an orgasm?
46. How can a girl tell if the boy's sperm is coming out during sexual intercourse?
47. Can it hurt a 13 year old to give birth?
48. If you are 13 or 14 and haven't started your period, should you be worried? Can it cause a sort of complex?
49. If you shouldn't ball before you are married, what should you do if you get a super hard case of wanting to ball and you can get the house, the bed and the boy--then is it wrong? If you really love the dude too?
50. When does a chick have the most liekly chance not to get pregnant?
51. Can you really tell if a child is really going to be abnormal before birth? If so, what is the percentage of it being correct?
52. Does the sperm cells die as soon as they hit the outside air and are not gone from the penis directly to the vagina?
53. What happen when you just finish having intercourse and your period come on after you finish?
54. What would the police do if they caught you balling?
55. What happens during abortion?
56. How does your body know when it is going to reproduce an egg?
57. My sister and a lot of her friends were taking about balling. What exactly does ball mean?
58. Isn't birth control pills just as bad as an abortion--by killing or preventing a possible life?
59. Do boys get relieved when they get a blow job or do they have to have intercourse?
60. If a baby boy has the mumps can that make him sterile?
61. The rumor is that certain kinds of cigarettes make you sterile. Is this true or false.
62. How do you get triplets?

63. Do you think it can be harmful to get sexually involved with a girl your own age if you were about 13-19?
64. Could you explain about eating out--is it decent, can it give you a disease or what?
65. What happens if the girl lets you ball her and she tells her parents and her parents tells the police?
66. What are the symptoms of VD and how can you cure it? Can you keep your treatment secret?
67. Why is everyone balling, then having an abortion done?
68. What is the best thing to do if you get a girl pregnant and she's only around 15? What should you do?
69. Why do older people think all this is bad?
70. What if this guy just uses you and something happens? How can you tell he's using you?
71. What do you mean "Adult Pleasure?" Is this like smoking is for adults only? And same with drinking. Do we get no pleasures?
72. If your boyfriend wants to have sexual intercourse and you don't want to but everybody keeps telling you you'll fill out in your bust or your body will fill out, what should I do?
73. Since everybody does it and if you don't, then you're out, is it still wrong to have premarital sex?
74. How old should you be for sexual intercourse?
75. What is artificial insemination?
76. Is it wrong to make love with a guy you really love?
77. Is it wrong to live with a guy you plan to marry?
78. What about if you and your boyfriend want to have a sexual intercourse but you're scared?
79. I have a sex life with my boyfriend and I don't take anything to keep from getting P.G. If I got P.G., how long would it take to get an abortion and who would I contact without my mom and dad knowing.
80. Was that water thing that protects the baby--often called a water bag--if the water bag breaks, what happens to the pregnant woman?
81. Do all mothers have to breast feed? If no, why not?

82. How can I enjoy an active sex life without worrying about getting pregnant?
83. How long does it take for the baby to be born?
84. If you are on your period more than 5 days (like 7 or 8 days), what has gone wrong? Is it normal if you skip your period? What's the normal amount of time you should skip if you do?
85. Often I have pains in my uterus. They shoot up and the pain lasts about from 5 to 10 seconds. Could you tell me what it is?
86. Can anything happen to a girl when she has been fingered? Can her hymen become injured?
87. What causes a retarded child?
88. Can you get an abortion in Florida under 18 years without your parents knowing? What are the laws?
89. What do you do when a boy decides to go too far and you can't get away?
90. Can you get pregnant if a guy pulls out right before he shoots off?
91. After you've been balled, why do you go through so much pain the next day (like stinging when you use the bathroom)?
92. If you're not fully developed and get pregnant, will it hurt the baby?
93. Is there anytime you can ball without getting pregnant without using anything?
94. Is it better for a boy to use a rubber. Will it keep the girl from getting pregnant?
95. Will it make you irregular if you have intercourse?
96. How long after intercourse does the sperm fertilize?
97. Do you think it's proper for people our age to engage in sexual intercourse as long as safety precaution are taken to prevent pregnancy?
98. What are your ideas on sexual morals?
99. Can you get VD from the toilet seat?
100. How do you tell your mother when you start your period?

101. If you have gotten "banged" or hurt on the vagina and you have a stingy, sharp pain when you go to the restroom, can it damage the vagina so that you can stop or not have your period?
102. What is a douche bag?
103. Is natural birth easier?
104. Can you get pregnant from a relative?
105. What are some of the causes of a child being born dead?
106. Can you go swimming if you're in your period? Why or why not?
107. Is there any way other than the birth canal to deliver a baby? If so how?
108. How do you put a tampon in? How old should you be before you start using tampons? Could it hurt you if you're not used to it?
109. How can you tell if you have breast cancer?
110. What might give you cramps?
111. Can you get venereal disease by just being around a friend who has it?
112. I thought that living together (unmarried) was against the law but you always hear about people living together and nothing seems to happen to them. What do you think?
113. How does a male or female become sterile?
114. How many times can you make one girl pregnant?
115. I heard that if you ball a girl you have to marry her. Is this true?
116. If you do not have wet dreams, can you still get a girl pregnant?
117. If two men intercourse with you, how do you know who the father is?
118. Will masturbation cause VD?
119. Is it true that coca-cola kills sperm cells after they are in the uterus?
120. Can you get VD from your partner in any other way than intercourse?

APPENDIX IV
EFFECTIVE CONTRACEPTION TO MINORS



THE AMERICAN COLLEGE OF OBSTETRICIANS AND GYNECOLOGISTS

EFFECTIVE CONTRACEPTION TO MINORS

The never married, never pregnant, sexually involved female has not yet been reached with effective contraception. The laws of some states indirectly prohibit this service for minors and thereby prevent the gynecologist from serving them or place the physician in legal jeopardy if he does so.

The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists believes that:

1. The unmarried female of any age whose sexual behavior exposes her to possible conception should have access to the most effective methods of contraception.
2. In order to accomplish this, the individual physician, whether working alone, in a group or in a clinic, should be free to exercise his best judgment in prescribing contraception and therefore, the legal barriers which restrict his freedom should be removed.
3. These restricting legal barriers should be removed even in the case of an unemancipated minor who refuses to involve her parents. A pregnancy should not be the price she has to pay for contraception. On the other hand, in counseling the patient, all possible efforts should be made to involve her parents.
4. The contraceptive services should be offered whenever possible in a broad spectrum counseling context which would include mental health and venereal disease.
5. Every effort should be made to include male partners in such services and counseling.

1971

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

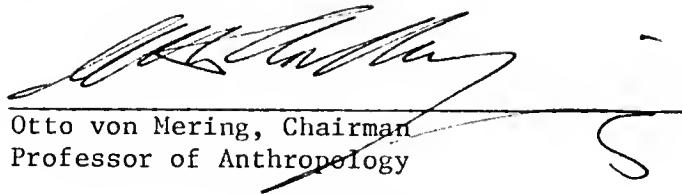
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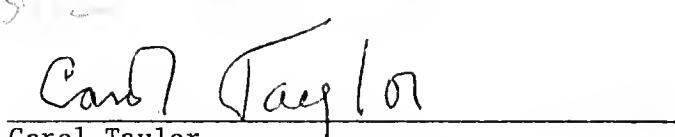
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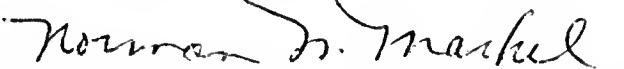
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